



The Antiquary.



NOVEMBER, 1884.

History and Development of the House.

BY HENRY B. WHEATLEY, F.S.A.

PART III.—THE BEDROOM.

EN no room of the house is the distinction between different classes at different periods of our history more clearly seen than in the bedroom. We certainly find our early kings living in a somewhat shiftless manner, and we read that on one occasion Edward I. and Queen Eleanor were sitting on their bedside, attended by the ladies of their court, when they narrowly escaped death by lightning; but in the next century luxury had greatly increased, and very different customs had become common among the rich. The poorer classes, however, continued for many years to be far from comfortable in their bed accommodation. The worthy parson William Harrison speaks of the improvement in bedding which became common in Elizabeth's reign, but this improvement did not consist in much more than the substitution of a pillow for a log and a mattress for a bed of straw. A well-known passage from Harrison's *Description of England* is of so much importance in this inquiry that I transfer it entire to these pages:—

The second is the great (although not generall) amendment of lodging, for, said they, our fathers, yea, and we ourselves also, have lien full oft upon straw pallets, on rough mats covered onlie with a sheet, under coverlets made of dagswain or hopharlots (I use their owne termes), and a good round log under their heads instead of a bolster (or pillow). If it were so that our fathers or the good man of the house, had within seven yeares after his marriage purchased a mattress or flockbed, and thereto a sacke of chaffe to rest his head upon, he thought himselfe to be as well lodged as the lord of the towne, that peradventure late seldome in a bed of downe or whole fethers; so

well were they contented, and with such base kind of furniture, which also is not verie much amended as yet in some parts of Bedfordshire, and elsewhere further off from our southerne parts. Pillowes, said they, were thought meet onlie for women in childbed; as for servants, if they had anie sheet above them, it was well, for seldom had they anie under their bodies, to keepe them from the pricking straws that ran oft through the canvas of the pallet and rased their hardened hides.*

This description shows that for several centuries little change took place in the arrangements of the bedchamber. In the Anglo-Saxon house the beds were fitted up in recesses or closets, as will be seen in the accompanying illustration (Fig. 1), taken from Aelfric's version of Genesis (Claudius, B. iv.). A sack filled with fresh straw was laid on the raised bench or board, and a curtain hung down in front, shutting the bed off from the room. If we may judge from the various representations of men and women in bed, little covering was used by our ancestors, but, of course, such pictures are not altogether conclusive on this point. It was the custom to take off all clothes, and then to warp a sheet round the person; over all a coverlet being thrown. A goatskin bed covering was considered an appropriate present for an Anglo-Saxon abbot, and bear skins are described as a part of the furniture of a bed. A pillow for the head appears to have completed what was then considered necessary for the comfort of the sleepers. The word *bedstead*, which has continued in use to the present day to represent a separate piece of furniture, originally merely meant the place for the bed, and would more accurately describe the beds shown in our illustration than what we now understand by the word. Movable pieces of furniture were also used by the Anglo-Saxons, and are sometimes represented in the illustrations of old manuscripts. The manners and customs of the Saxons in England were doubtless much like those which were common to them in the old country. In the romance of Beowulf we find an indication that the bedchambers in the palace of a chieftain were completely detached and far removed from the hall. The hall of Hrothgar was visited by a monster named Grendel, who came at night to prey upon its inhabitants, and it was

* Harrison, ed Furnivall, 1877, Part I., p. 240.

Beowulf's mission to rid the place of this infliction. After the festivities, at which Wealtheow, Hrothgar's queen, assisted, the family retire from the hall, and leave Beowulf and his followers to sleep there. In the night the monster appears, and after a fearful combat is killed by Beowulf. The watchmen on the wall hear with a "fearful terror" the sound of the fray, but Hrothgar and his family in their bedchambers hear little or nothing of what is going on in the hall.

Although a greater degree of luxury was common among the Normans than the Saxons were accustomed to, yet we do not find any great change in the bedsteads and bedding, as may be seen from Fig. 2, which is taken from MS. Cotton, Nero, c. iv. The

and on the other a like pole for hanging clothes upon. If this was a fair representation of a bedchamber at that time, we must allow that a considerable amount of household comfort had been attained by the richer classes. One feature is omitted in this picture, and that is the lamp which was commonly used, at all events, in the following century. Sometimes the lamps were suspended, but in other cases they were fixed on a stand. Mattresses were used by Henry III., and linen sheets had become somewhat common in the thirteenth century. In the Liberale Rolls of Henry III. the bedchamber is occasionally mentioned as separate from the other chambers, but in the fourteenth century the distinction had be-

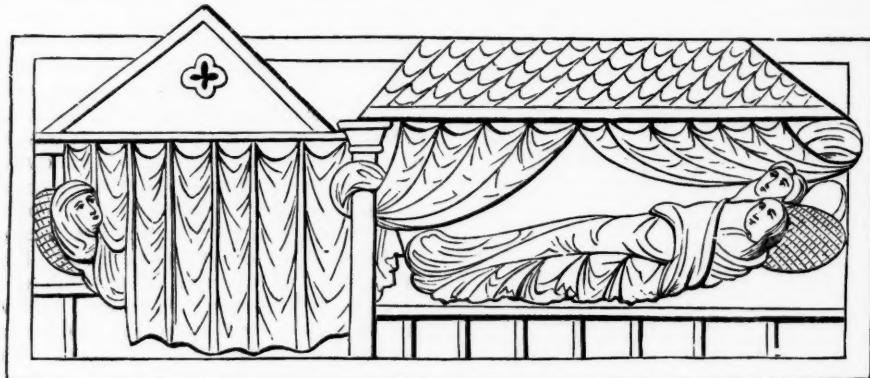


FIG. I.—ANGLO-SAXON BEDS.

tester bed came into use soon after the Conquest, and the hangings were sometimes the cause of accidents. Tales are told of fires caused by the setting light to the curtains by some careless reader in bed who fell asleep with the candle burning by his side. Neckam, in the latter part of the twelfth century, describes how a bedroom should be furnished. He says the walls should be covered with a curtain or tapestry, and besides the bed there should be a chair and a bench at the foot of the bed. A feather bed, a bolster, and a pillow, an ornamental quilt, sheets, either of silk or linen, with a coverlet of green, say, or fur, completed the necessary bedding. On one side of the room was a pole for the falcon,

come more common. But this was not the case in France, for there beds often formed imposing features of the chief rooms of the house. Lacroix, in his *Arts of the Middle Ages*, describes the dwelling room of a seigneur of the fourteenth century, which, besides a large bed, contained a variety of other furniture needed for the ordinary requirements of daily life. The time that was not given to business, to outdoor amusements, to state receptions, and to meals, was passed, both by nobles and citizens, in this room. The bed stood in a corner, and was surrounded by thick curtains, and formed what was then called a *closet*, or small room enclosed by tapestry. A huge chimney admitted many persons to the fire-

side, and near the hearth was placed the seat of honour of the master or mistress. Stools and chairs were placed about the room, and cushions on the window benches allowed those who desired a view to enjoy it. Carpets covered the tiled floor, and a dresser along one side of the room, filled with valuable plate, completed the furniture.

The feather bed is said to have been introduced in the fourteenth century, and in the fifteenth century it had become common among the richer classes. We have seen, however, that Neckam mentions what may either have been a feather bed or quilt of feathers, not to lie on, but to be used as a covering.

John Russell, who was usher of the chamber and marshal of the hall to Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, wrote a book of directions called *The Boke of Nurture*, in which the bedroom is not forgotten :—

Than to youre sovereynes
chambur walke ye in
hast,
All the clothes of the bed
them aside ye cast ;
The fethurbed ye bete,
without hurt, so no fed-
durs ye wast,
Fustian and shetis clene
by sight and sans ye
tast.

Kover with a keverlyte
cleny, that bed so manerly made,
The bankers and quosshyns, in the chambur se them
feire y-sprad,
Bothe bedshete and pillow also, that they be saaf up
stad,

* * * * *
Wyndowes and cuppeborde with carpetts and cos-
shyns splayd ;
Se ther be a good fyre in the chambur conveyed,
With wood and fuelle redy the fuyre to bete and aide.

From the *Household Ordinances* it appears that Henry VII. had a fustian and sheet under his feather bed, over the bed a sheet, then "the overfustian above," and then "a pane of ermines" like an eider down quilt. "A head sheete of raynes" and another of ermines were over the pillows.* Fustian was

* *The Babees Book*, ed. F. J. Furnivall (Early English Text Society, 1868), p. 179.

a cotton material, and usually kept for summer wear. Fustian of Naples was of a finer texture, and used for pillow cases, but linen of Reynes was a specially fine material. The woolen blanket was introduced in the fourteenth century; it was sometimes made of a texture originally imported from Chalons, in France, and called shalloon. In Chaucer's *Reve's Tale* we are told—

And in his owne chambir hem made a bed,
With schetys and with chalouns fair i-spred.
(ll. 219, 220.)

In the fourteenth century the hangings of the bed began to be very luxurious, and large sums of money were spent upon them. In 1377 Gilbert Prince, a famous artist of his day, received from the exchequer forty-four

pounds for ornamenting a pair of bed-curtains, and in wills of the period we often find bequests of these hangings. In 1398 the Duc d'Orleans paid eight hundred francs for *un chambre portative*, which consisted of a set of hangings, a seler, dorsar curtains, and a counterpoint. The last item was one of the most gorgeous pieces of furniture in the bedroom, and the coverlid found by the

populace in the palace of the Duke of Lancaster in 1381 was estimated to be worth a thousand marks. The illustration of a bedchamber in the fifteenth century (Fig. 3) shows a half-tester bed, and represents the death of the Emperor Nero from a French MS. of Josephus.

In the *Boke of Curtasye* (fifteenth century) the duties of the grooms of the chamber are described. They were to make pallets of litter nine feet long and seven feet broad.

For lordys two beddys schalle be made,
Both utter and inner, so god me glade.*

* *The Boke of Curtasye* (Furnivall's *Babees Book*), p. 313.



FIG. 2.—A NORMAN BED.

The visitors at a house often slept in the same room as the master and mistress, and it was quite common for friends and even strangers to sleep together. This is illustrated by the constant use of the word "bedfellow" in old literature. In the *Boke of Curtasye* we are told that it is courteous if you sleep with any man to ask what part of the bed he likes, and lie far from him.

In bedde yf thou falle herberet to be,
With felawe, maystur, or her degré,
Thou schalt enquire be curtasye
In what part of the bedde he wylle lye ;
Be honest and lye thou fer hym fro,
Thou art not wyse but thou do so. *

in his *Toothless Satires* makes the trencher-chaplain

lie upon the truckle-bed
Whiles his young maister lieth o'er his head.

Even as late as Butler's day, the thing was still in use :—

When Hudibras, whom thoughts and aking
'Twixt sleeping kept all night and waking,
Began to rub his drowsy eyes,
And from his couch prepared to rise,
Resolving to despatch the deed
He vow'd to do, with trusty speed ;
But first, with knocking loud and bawling,
He roused the squire, in truckle lolling.



FIG. 3.—FIFTEENTH CENTURY BEDCHAMBER.

In course of time greater privacy was sought for, and the number of bedrooms increased. Still the truckle or trundle bed which rolled under the larger bed long continued to be used. The lady's-maid slept in the bed below her mistress, and the valet occupied the wheeled bed, while his master slept in the standard bed with its handsome canopy. This custom was wide-spread in the sixteenth century. The rollicking host of the Garter in the *Merry Wives of Windsor* describes Falstaff's room as follows :—"There's his chamber, his house, his castle, his standing bed and truckle bed"; and Bishop Hall

* *The Boke of Curtasye*, pp. 307, 308.

Mention may here be made of a custom of our ancestors which appears to us singularly unbecoming; that is, the "naked bed." So universal was the custom that, in the *Roman de la Violette*, the Lady Orian excites the surprise of her duenna by going to bed in a chemise, and is obliged to explain her reason for so singular a practice, which is a desire to conceal a mark on her body.* In some moral lines in the *Reliquiae Antiquae* (ii. 15) against pride, the ladies are told that however gay may be their clothing during the day, they will lie in bed at night as naked as they were born.

* Wright's *The Homes of Other Days*, p. 269.

Sometimes, as early as the fourteenth century, a bath room was attached to the bed-chamber in the houses of great nobles, but more often a big tub with a covering like a tent was used.

In *Sir Bevys of Hampton* we learn that
In to chamber she gan him take,
And riche bathes she let him make;

and Froissart records that

among other places, these men of Ghent destroyed at Marie a house belonging to the Earl of Flanders, containing the chamber where he was born, the font in which he had been baptized, and his cradle, which was of silver. They also beat to pieces and carried away the bathing tub wherein he had been washed.

The four-post bed held undisputed sway in England as the favourite form for three or four centuries, and it is not many years since it was deposed from that position. Abroad there were more frequent changes of fashion in respect to the bedstead. Mons. Jacquemart, in his *History of Furniture*, writes:

The bed, placed under a canopy and on a platform, had its head to the wall, and was accessible on both sides; the head-board alone and the pillars were visible to the eye with their sculptures; all the rest was drapery; at first the curtains used to be drawn, then came the fashion of the bedsteads, *façon d'impériale*, of which the curtains lifted up. There was even a time when the hangings invaded the pillars of the bedsteads, which were surrounded by chossettes (sheaths of drapery). These pillars were to disappear later on, under Louis XIV.; the canopy was to be suspended, allowing all the foot of the bed to be seen; and it was then that the bedside became the rendezvous of pleasant company, bringing the latest news, and sometimes scandalous gossip. In the time of Henry IV. we see the alcove appear, tending to replace the canopied bedstead; in the sale of the Louvre, where the dying monarch was carried, the curtains are represented in sculpture and borne by genii. The balustrade still exists in front of the platform on which the bed rests.

Although the tester, half-tester, and four-post bedsteads were common, some persons

entirely dispensed with hangings, and this was especially the case among recluses, as may be seen by reference to miniatures in old manuscripts and to early engravings.

The bed of Ware, which still exists, is a good example of the great size of many of the state bedsteads. In days when money was carried about by its owner, and hidden away in all manner of out-of-the-way corners, secret receptacles were often fixed in the bedsteads. Roger Twysden relates that on the 21st of August, 1485, Richard III. arrived at Leicester. His servants had preceded him with the running wardrobe, and in the best chamber of the "Boar's Head" a ponderous four-post bedstead was set up; it was richly carved, gilded, and decorated, and had a double bottom of boards. Richard slept in it that night. After his defeat and death on Bosworth Field it was stripped of its rich hangings, but the heavy and cumbersome bedstead was left at the "Blue Bear." In the reign of Elizabeth, when the hostess was shaking the bed she observed a piece of gold, of ancient coinage, fall on the floor; this led to a careful examination, when the double bottom was discovered, upon lifting a portion of which the interior was found to be

filled with gold, part coined by Richard III. and the rest of earlier times.

Queen Elizabeth was fond of good bedding, and the following wardrobe warrant, dated 1581 (B.M. Add. MS. 5,751, fol. 38), is of considerable interest in proving this. It orders the delivery, for the Queen's use, of a bedstead of walnut tree, richly carved, painted, and gilt. The selour, tester, and vallance were of cloth of silver, figured with velvet, lined with changeable taffeta, and deeply fringed with Venice gold, silver, and silk. The



FIG. 4.—A BED OF THE 16TH CENTURY.

curtains were of costly tapestry, curiously and elaborately worked, every seam and every border laid with gold and silver lace, caught up with long loops and buttons of bullion. The head-piece was of crimson satin of Bruges, edged with a passamayne of crimson silk, and decorated with six ample plumes, containing seven dozen ostrich feathers of various colours, garnished with golden spangles. The counterpoint was of orange-coloured satin, quilted with cut work of cloths of gold and silver, of satins of every imaginable tint, and embroidered with Venice gold, silver spangles, and coloured silks, fringed to correspond, and lined with orange sarcent.* The next illustration (Fig. 4), of a foreign bedchamber, is taken from a print by Aldegraver, dated 1553.

Such gorgeous beds as these were the glories of our palaces, and the heavy furniture and nodding plumes are familiar to us in pictures and in museums of curiosities. Mr. Ashton, in his *Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne*, mentions a bedstead put up as a prize in a lottery, which was said to have cost £3,000.

The best bed was not always to be found in the chamber of the host and hostess, but in the guest chamber or spare room, which was often adorned with the richest furniture in the house.

Before concluding this chapter, I will mention the old customs connected with the nuptial bed, and a curious superstition. When the newly married noble brought his bride home to his castle, they found a costly bed, upon which the maker had expended much pains, and, strange to say, the chamberlain looked upon this bed as his perquisite. He was not, however, averse to receiving a money payment in place of it. In 1297, when the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Edward I., was married to the Earl of Holland, Sir Peter de Champvent claimed the bridal bed as his fee, and he received a sum of money in lieu thereof. A still grander precedent is found in the claim of Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, to the bed upon which Queen Philippa slept, when she was married to Edward III., as well as her slippers and the lavers in which she washed. The Earl received one

hundred marks, and the Queen kept her property. The old custom of putting the bride and bridegroom to bed was sometimes improved upon by sewing the bride up in one of the sheets. Herrick alludes to this in a nuptial song on Sir Clipseby Crew and his lady :—

But since it must be done, dispatch and sowe
Up in a sheet your Bride, and what if so, etc.

It is a wide-spread superstition that no one can die easy in a bed, and from Yorkshire to India the ignorant peasant will take the dying from the bed and lay him on the floor to facilitate the departure of his soul. Mr. Henderson (*Folk-lore of the Northern Counties*) says that this superstition is equally prevalent among Mahomedan and Hindu. In some parts the notion is confined to a peculiarity in the feathers, as that of pigeons or game-fowl. The Russian peasantry have a strong feeling against using pigeons' feathers in beds. They consider it sacrilegious, the dove being the emblem of the Holy Spirit.*

For several centuries the arrangements of the bedroom have remained tolerably uniform, and the four-post bedstead, with its heavy hangings, reigned supreme, but in the present century a great change has been made. The "four-poster" has been completely set aside, and in its place the iron bedstead reigns. The heavy hangings were a survival of a time when the walls and doors let in much of the outer air, and curtains were required to keep the sleeper warm. In these days of sanitary knowledge, when the cold air is better kept outside the room, and when the need of fresh air (not necessarily cold) while we sleep is now fully realised, these stuffy hangings that may harbour disease and keep us breathing our own vitiated air stand self-condemned.

The contrast between our own habits and those of our forefathers can well be studied by comparing the luxurious rooms shown in this year—1884—at the International Health Exhibition with the appointments of those we have been considering in this article. At the same time we are not prepared to say we might not lie in worse quarters than in a bedroom in a country house furnished in the old-fashioned manner.

* Quoted in *Our English Home*, 1860, p. 173.

* Henderson, p. 60.

Accounts of Henry VI.

(1422-1422.)

BY SIR J. H. RAMSAY.

FIN dealing with so long a reign I have thought it better to take up the first twenty years separately, leaving the rest of the reign to be dealt with afterwards. The period under consideration will include the whole of the king's minority, and something more, as the regency was tacitly allowed to expire in the autumn of 1437, when the king's governor, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, was sent over to France to assume the direction of affairs in Normandy. Certainly from 1438, or 1439, the king was ruling in person; but his personal intervention is chiefly shown in acts of kindness, detrimental to his own interests; on most matters the answer to communications from his ministers is, "Content if my lordes are content."

The period is not an interesting one in itself, though it contains one episode of unique interest, that of the sweet, crazy village-girl, Jeanne the *Pucelle*; Jeanne the awe-inspiring "Maid of God."

Through this period we may trace the brewing elements of civil war; private feuds unrepressed by the hand of a master; want of purpose and consistency in the public counsels, leading to humiliation, irritation, and discontent. These we cannot trace here; but I may point out that our accounts show clearly the firm control over taxation retained by the House of Commons; the consolation which they found for themselves and their constituents in the loss of the brilliant, masterful Henry V. was reduction of taxation. Five years and a half elapsed without the grant of any direct impost by Parliament; and more than seven years elapsed before a full Fifteenth and Tenth were given. From that time these subsidies were doled out with tolerable regularity. Nine and one-third in all were given during the period; together with one special grant of 6s. 8d. on each knight's fee or parish of socage land (1428); one of 20s. on the knight's fee, or £20 annual value of socage lands (1431), remitted a year later because

people refused to pay it; and one graduated income-tax, beginning at 6d. on the £1 of freehold rent from persons worth £5 a year, and rising to 2s. on the £1 from persons worth more than £400 a year (1435); lastly we have to record a miserable poll-tax on foreigners, granted either in December 1439 or January 1440; householders were required to pay 1s. 4d. a year for three years, servants and inmates 6d. Thus apart from these special grants parliament did not give the king half a subsidy a year on the average of the twenty years;—Henry V. received ten and a third subsidies in a reign of nine and a half years. But, on the other hand, from the year 1433 parliament managed to extort from the weakness of the Government a reduction of £4,000 on the assessed amount of the Fifteenth and Tenth. This £4,000 was to be remitted rateably to decayed places where population had sunk. This allowance was probably fair enough, but it ought to have been made up by a reassessment of the whole impost. It should be noted that the first five years of the reign during which parliament refused to make any grant for the continuance of the war was a period of successful and apparently hopeful warfare. These were the days of Cravant and Verneuil, when the English ascendancy north of the Loire seemed fully established, and even the Scots had been driven from the field.

The clergy were not slow to follow the lead of the Commons in refusing to tax themselves. The convocation of Canterbury allowed three years to pass without a grant; and then they only gave half a tenth; altogether they gave ten and three-quarter tenths during the period. The clergy of the northern province practically emancipated themselves from direct contribution to the wants of the state; in twenty years they gave just four and a quarter tenths; and as the York tenth had apparently sunk to about £2,200, their aggregate offerings did not reach £10,000.

The revenue totals, therefore, are moderate throughout. Our table of the issues gives an average under £105,000 a year, even with the help of two big years, when the expenditure exceeded £172,000. These were both remarkable years. The first of

them, 1430-31, witnessed the close of the struggle with the *Pucelle*; the latter, 1435-36, was the year following the reconciliation of Burgundy with France at Arras, when the English were persuaded to make war on Burgundy, when the duke retaliated by attacking Calais, and when for the relief of Calais England turned out nearly 8,000 men for one month, besides the very unusual force of 6,000 men already sent to Normandy. For the first five years when parliament did not vouchsafe any direct grants, the average expenditure was only a trifle over £67,000 a year. But the readers of *THE ANTIQUARY* have been informed before now that the sum totals on the Rolls, whether Issue Rolls or Receipt Rolls, are always in excess of the real legitimate income; and that for this we must have recourse to analyses of the individual sources of income. This time I have been relieved of the trouble of making these for myself by the kindness of Lord Cromwell, the treasurer appointed in 1434, at the instance of the Duke of Bedford, who signalled his accession to office by preparing a complete budget of the estimated receipts and expenditure for the coming year, the earliest parliamentary budget that has come down to us. For this I beg to tender his lordship my most respectful thanks; and still more for a valuable schedule of debts which could not possibly have been compiled at the present day. The budget gives an estimated gross income of £58,358; or, if we take in the revenues of Calais and Aquitain, of £62,032 4s. 11d.; while the primary ordinary expenditure is taken at £56,878.

But even the ordinary income was burdened with encumbrances and allowances; while the budget only charges for garrisons on a peace footing, and without allowing one penny for operations in the field. I may remark, by the way, that the revenues of Calais and Aquitain went only in reduction of expenditure; nothing ever came into the home exchequer from either source, and they do not figure in our revenue totals.

The reader will be astonished at the smallness of the treasurer's figures. One material addition to his income has to be made in the shape of direct grants from parliament and convocation; the treasurer could not take

credit for these, because they had not yet been voted, but grants were made which I estimate at £25,000 for the period covered by the budget, and with these we get an unquestionable legitimate income of £87,000 for the whole year. The reader may urge that the totals on the Pell Rolls give an actual expenditure of £103,000; my answer is that the balance must be put down to borrowed money, cross entries, and continued accounts. The treasurer's schedule of debts gives us items of this character to an amount exceeding £74,000, the whole of which must have figured at least once on each side of the public accounts. In truth the estate of a king no less than that of a subject suffered during minority. After making all deductions we could still make out for Henry V. an income of £102,000 a year. Of the converse case a striking instance may be found in Scotland at the very time we are now considering. Under the Albans, the customs in Scotland, practically the only ordinary revenue of the Crown, had sunk to about £2,200 a year. After the return of James I., they promptly rose to £4,000 and £5,000 (*Excheg. Rolls, Scotland*, IV. xciii. cxxv.).

The only head in Lord Cromwell's revenue budget, which does not exhibit a falling off, is that of the old hereditary revenues. These amount in round numbers to £13,800, or, with the duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall, Cheshire and Wales, to £24,500. These figures are larger than those brought out in some of our previous analyses. The revenues of the duchy of Lancaster remain the same. The principality of Wales, which during the time of Henry V. was still unproductive, now yields £2,200; but subject in each case to charges and deductions amounting to about one half. The Hanaper, which under Henry V. could yield from £1,640 to £5,000 a year, subject to deductions of about £600 a year, now returns £1,668; but the first charges have risen to £1,530. Again, the receipts of the Tower Mint stand at £390 gross, or £140 net; while under Henry V. the net receipts ranged from £236 to £900 a year. The lay subsidy, a fifteenth from counties and a tenth from boroughs, stands much as it did. Under Henry V. we took it as probably under £36,000. The proceeds of the first grant of this reign, as given in our table,

come to £35,077 : so the half tenth from the convocation of Canterbury, the first of the reign, comes to £6,422, implying a total of some £13,000 for the whole tenth ; the half tenth from York only comes to £1,079. The original *taxatio* assessed the two provinces at £16,000 and £4,000 respectively.

But the dismal falling off is that of the customs. Under Henry V. we took the yield at from £40,000 to £42,000 a year ; now the treasurer thinks that he can only reckon on £30,000. One of the three years on which his estimate was based was incomplete, the returns from Newcastle not having come in yet ; but we can easily allow for that ; and his calculation is supported by the returns for the eighth year (1429-30), which, as I have taken them from the Receipt Rolls, give in round numbers £30,350. No very material change had been made in the rates of duty. Tonnage and poundage were practically levied at the same rates as under Henry V. ; namely 3s. the tun of wine, and 12d. on the £1 value of general merchandise : the wool duties had been somewhat lowered ; the rates from natives had been reduced from 50s. to 40s. the sack ; and those from foreigners from 60s. to 53s. 4d. the sack : but in the case of such heavy imposts the reduction ought to have been, to a certain extent, compensated by increased exportation. Various causes may be suggested as having contributed to this loss of revenue. The keeping of the sea was totally neglected ; yet at the same time it must be admitted that the complaints of privateering at this time are comparatively trifling, and that we hear nothing of naval enterprises by the French. Malversation and neglect may be assigned as two leading causes. Of these we hear great complaints (*Devon Issues*, 420; *Proceedings Privy Council*, iv. 239; Stat. 11 Henry VI., cap. 16). In connection with this I may notice a statement by the Duke of Gloucester, that Cardinal Beaufort was the largest dealer in wool in all England (Stevenson, *Letters Henry VI.*, ii. 443). If this was true it is easy to understand the commercial advantages a man in his position would enjoy, and the statement helps to explain the cardinal's mysterious command of money. Again, we hear that Spanish and Scotch

wools, being less heavily taxed, were competing with the English article (*Rot. Parl.*, iv., 126). The last cause of the falling off which I am able to suggest is also the most interesting, and it is this, that the heavy export duty on wool was at last developing the domestic manufacture of cloth and yarn. These could apparently be exported at the light duty of 5 per cent., while the duty on wool at the lower rate paid by natives came to just 25 per cent. on middling wool, which we are told sold for £8 the sack at Calais (*Rot. Parl.*, iv., 454, conf. Rogers' *Prices*, iii., 704). The development of the English woollen manufacture is specially noticed by foreign writers at this time, and noticed with alarm by the Burgundian writers.

In the estimate of expenditure we may notice a substantial reduction in the royal household, for which £13,000 is allowed, a fair amount for a king twelve years old, but, still, greatly below the sums of £40,000 and £50,000 we have seen under previous reigns. On the other hand Pensions have risen from £5,000 and £6,000 to £7,700 ; and Civil Service has risen from £8,000 and £10,000 to £11,700. The increase under these two heads is one—payments to members of the royal family, and members of the Regency Council. As already stated, the "Naval and Military" expenditure is merely for defensive garrisons on a peace footing ; the inclusion of the navy in this account is really formal ; the only item entered being £100 for the keeping of the king's ships, doubtless laid up in ordinary. On the actual Issue Rolls, considerable sums are paid in every year for shipping hired for the transport of reliefs to France.

On the table of issues, where the shillings and pence are given, the totals are taken from the rolls ; where the shillings and pence are omitted, the tables are my own.

The schedule of debts follows, to a certain extent, the lines of the budget of expenditure, but with a still more decided predominance of the war items. The list is not exhaustive, secured creditors not being included, as, for instance, Sir John Radcliffe, who had a charge on the Welsh revenues for £7,000 due for his services in Aquitain. But the whole of the debt had not been contracted during

the reign, as a foot-note calls attention to debts of older standing, as, for instance, £1,200 still due to the widowed Duchess of Clarence, for the services of her late husband in the Agincourt campaign. Under the general head of war debt I would place not only the sum expressly mentioned as due for wages of war, but also the loans and the overdue drafts of the sixth head. These are the cancelled tallies of which the reader has heard so much, drafts tendered to creditors, but not honoured, or not fully honoured, at maturity; the amount left owing being re-entered as a loan from the creditor. The holders of these were usually persons of high position, to whom money was due for public services. Thus in fact the war was carried on to a considerable extent at the expense of the noblemen and gentlemen who liked to take part in it,—a hint for the Peace Party of the present day. The loans, of course, were all raised to meet war expenses for which the

Commons had failed to provide. Large as the amount of the debt seems, it was not really very much; four lay subsidies would have cleared off the whole, and four extra subsidies could easily have been provided in the twelve years.

The lightness of England's war taxation may be estimated by comparing the grants extracted from the estates of Normandy, where the people had war frequently among them, and always round them. The English parliament granted less than half a subsidy a year during the twenty years under review, that is to say, not £18,000 a year on the average. The Norman estates from the years 1423 to 1440, both inclusive, gave on the average 250,000 livres Tournois, or more than £41,000 a year, irrespective of indirect taxes, *impôts d'office*, and local subventions on emergencies. (Beaurepaire *Etats de Normandie*, 16-74; and Stevenson, *Letters Henry VI.*, passim.)

TABLE I.
ISSUES HENRY VI. (FROM THE PELL AND AUDITOR'S ROLLS.)
(Beginning of reign 1 September 1422.)

Regnal Year.	Term.	Duration of Term.	Amount.
			£ s. d.
1	Mich.	Thursday, 15 Oct., 1422—Thursday, 11 March (given as 10 March), 1423	27,490 — —
—	Easter	Wednesday, 14 April—Saturday, 17 July, 1423 ...	37,444 7 7
2	Mich.	Monday, 4 Oct., 1423—Thursday, 2 March, 1424 (Auditor's Roll)	54,580 15 10
—	Easter	Monday, 1 May—Thursday, 3 August (given as 4 August), 1424 ...	27,572 0 6
3	Mich.	Thursday, 5 Oct. (given as 6 Oct.), 1424—Thursday, 22 March, 1425...	35,589 1 5
—	Easter	Friday, 20 April—Thursday, 2 Aug., 1425 ...	38,444 15 10½
4	Mich.	Thursday, 4 Oct., 1425—Monday, 4 March, 1426 ...	32,704 19 4½
—	Easter	Monday, 15 April—Friday, 30 August, 1426 ...	30,860 8 4
5	Mich.	Tuesday, 1 Oct., 1426—Thursday, 20 March, 1427 ...	33,514 5 10
—	Easter	Wednesday, 7 May—Friday, 18 July, 1427 ...	24,004 17 8
6	Mich.	Monday, 13 Oct., 1427—Thursday, 25 March, 1428 ...	50,953 4 4½
—	Easter	Thursday, 15 April—Monday, 19 July, 1428 ...	35,837 19 1
7	Mich.	Wednesday, 13 Oct., 1428—Wednesday, 23 Feb. (given as 25 F.), 1429	32,897 — —
—	Easter	Tuesday, 12 April—Thursday, 14 July, 1429 ...	39,608 — —
8	Mich.	Tuesday, 4 Oct., 1429—Wednesday, 12 April, 1430 ...	86,019 13 4
—	Easter	Friday, 21 April—Wednesday, 19 July, 1430 ...	71,782 16 2½
9	Mich.	Friday, 13 Oct., 1430—Friday, 16 March, 1431 ...	112,985 12 8½
—	Easter	Saturday, 21 April—Monday, 13 August, 1431 ...	59,380 15 8
10	Mich.	Monday, 8 Oct., 1431—Monday, 3 March, 1432 ...	39,751 19 7½
—	Easter	Thursday, 1 May—Monday, 21 July, 1432 ...	74,823 13 9
11	Mich.	Tuesday, 7 Oct., 1432—Tuesday, 17 March, 1433 ...	57,398 — —
—	Easter	Monday, 20 April (given as 21 April)—Saturday, 18 July, 1433...	26,788 8 9
12	Mich.	Wednesday, 7 Oct., 1433—Thursday, 25 Feb., 1434 ...	43,870 17 9
—	Easter	Wednesday, 14 April—Wednesday, 14 July, 1434 ...	59,147 2 0
13	Mich.	Thursday, 14 Oct., 1434—Monday, 21 Feb., 1435 ...	30,536 10 11
—	Easter	Tuesday, 10 May—Thursday, 21 July, 1435 ...	54,338 16 4
14	Mich.	Monday, 10 Oct., 1435—Wednesday, 4 April, 1436 (Auditor's)...	101,779 16 4
—	Easter	Wednesday, 18 April—Tuesday, 25 Sept., 1436 ...	69,488 15 2
15	Mich.	Monday, 8 Oct., 1436—Monday, 18 March, 1437...	40,576 16 8½
—	Easter	Monday, 22 April—Thursday, 25 July, 1437 ...	91,862 18 8½
16	Mich.	Thursday, 10 Oct., 1437—Thursday, 27 March, 1438 ...	48,705 3 1½

Regnal Year.	Term.	Duration of Term.	Amount.
			£ s. d.
—	Easter	Friday, 2 May—Thursday, 24 July, 1438 (figures indistinct)	45,335 14 11
17	Mich.	Thursday, 9 Oct., 1438—Saturday, 28 March, 1439	56,539 1 1½
—	Easter	Monday, 20 April—Monday, 27 July, 1439	65,141 11 4½
18	Mich.	Tuesday, 13 Oct., 1439—Monday, 29 Feb. (given as 28 Feb.), 1440	78,590 4 8
—	Easter	Thursday, 14 April—Saturday, 23 (given as 22) July, 1440	41,043 —
19	Mich.	No Roll on either side: Receipts, £72,583 16s. 6d.	
—	Easter	No Roll on either side: Receipts, £38,492 or. 6½d.	
20	Mich.	Thursday, 12 Oct., 1441—Wednesday, 28 March, 1442	47,757 2 10
—	Easter	Saturday, 14 April—August? (last day not given)	73,246 18 9

TABLE II.

ESTIMATED GROSS ORDINARY RECEIPTS OF THE CROWN FOR COMING YEAR; LAID BEFORE PARLIAMENT BY TREASURER LORD CROMWELL, OCTOBER, 1433. ROT. PARLT. IV. 433.

(1) Old Crown Revenues—	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Including—						
Lancaster	4,952	0	0			
Chester	764	0	0			
Cornwall	2,788	0	0			
South Wales	1,139	0	0			
North Wales	1,097	0	0			
"Green Wax"	1,200	0	0			
				24,580	8	9
(2) Customs (on average of 3 last years)	30,722	5	7½			
(3) Aulnage Cloth		720	0			
(4) Priories Alien		277	5			
(5) Hanaper (gross)		1,668	3	4		
(6) Tower Mint and Exchange (gross)		390	0	0		
				58,358	2	8½

N.B.—This does not include the special revenues of Calais, estimated at £2,866, nor those of Aquitain, given as £808 2s. 2½d.

TABLE III.

ESTIMATED ORDINARY EXPENDITURE OF CROWN FOR COMING YEAR, LAID BEFORE PARLIAMENT BY TREASURER LORD CROMWELL, OCTOBER, 1433. ROT. PARLT. IV. 435.

(1) Household : including—	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Chamber	666	13	4			
Great Wardrobe	1,300	0	0 etc.			
<hr/>						
(2) Naval and Military—				13,071	19	7
Aquitain (about 260 archers)		3,400	0			
Calais		11,930	16	7		
Ireland		2,666	13	4		
Peace { Berwick		2,566	13	4		
Footing } Roxburgh		1,000	0	0		
Carlisle		1,250	0	0		
				22,920	9	11
(3) Civil Service (with diplomacy, salaries of Regents, etc.)		11,723	2	5		
(4) Public Works		733	6	8		
(5) Pensions		7,722	16	3		
(6) Miscellaneous (maintenance of French prisoners; Tower Lions, etc.)		706	10	0		
				56,878	4	10

TABLE IV.

SCHEDULE OF UNSECURED CROWN DEBTS LAID BEFORE PARLIAMENT, OCTOBER, 1433. ROT. PARLT. IV. 436.

(1) Household	£	s.	d.
(2) Public Works	215	7	11
(3) Wages of War (Calais, £45,000; Aquitain, £5,400, etc.)	59,578	16	10
(4) Civil Service (with Pensions and Ireland)	27,705	11	3
(5) Loans (Cardinal Beaufort, £6,666)	18,013	19	9
(6) Overdue Drafts ("Item divers' persons per Tall' iis assignat' prout patet per folia eorumdem remenant' in Scaccario nondum allocat'")	56,288	10	10
	166,961	8	3

TABLE V.

HENRY VI. CUSTOMS.

Eighth year. Michaelmas 1429-1430. From the Receipt Rolls.

Wool. "Magna Custuma," "Parva Custuma," and "Subsidium"	£	s.	d.
Tonnage and Poundage	23,626	4	3

30,347 10 0

Ninth year, 1430-1431. Rot. Parlt. IV. 435.
Wool, as above

27,931 16 4½

Tonnage and Poundage

6,920 14 5

34,852 10 9½

Tenth year, 1431-1432. Rot. Parlt. sup.
Wool, as above

23,805 3 10½

Tonnage and Poundage

6,998 17 10

30,804 1 8½

Eleventh year, 1432-1433. Ib.
Wool, as above (without Newcastle). 20,307 2 11½

Tonnage and Poundage (without Newcastle).

6,203 1 6

26,510 4 5½

Average of ninth, tenth, and eleventh years. Ib.

30,722 5 7½

TABLE VI.

SUBSIDIES.

*From the Receipt Rolls.**Lay Subsidy.—*

Fifteenth and Tenth from Parliament : granted 12 Dec. 1429. <i>Rot. Parl.</i> , IV. 336. Collected Michaelmas Term, 8	Henry VI. £34,904 9 9
Arrears collected Easter Term,	8 Henry VI. 172 15 3
Total	35,077 5 0

Clerical Subsidies.—

Half Tenth from Canterbury : granted 18 July, 1425. Wilkins' <i>Concilia</i> , III., 438. Collected Michaelmas Term, 4	Henry VI. £5,788 16 4
Arrears collected Easter Term, 4	Henry VI. 633 16 5
Total	6,422 12 9
Half Tenth from York : granted 17 August, 1440. Wilkins' <i>Concilia</i> , III., 536. Collected Michaelmas Term, 19	Henry VI. £565 19 6
Collected Easter Term, 19 Henry VI. 513 3 4	
Total	1,079 2 10



The Formation of the English Palate.

By R. S. FERGUSON, F.S.A.

Presidential Address, delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Cumberland Association for the Advancement of Literature and Science, held at Penrith in 1884.

Οὐδὲν δέ μάγειρος τοῦ ποιητοῦ διαφέρει,
Ο νόος γάρ εστιν ἐκατέρῳ τούτων τέχνη.


HE learned and ingenious author of *The Romans of Britain*, Mr. Coote, F.S.A., in a paper on *The Cuisine Bourgeoise of Ancient Rome*,* (which he communicated to the Society of Antiquaries), observed that "no one has yet written the history of the Roman palate, such as it became when the successes of that people had given occasion for its artificial cultivation." Mr. Coote's observation may be widely extended: we have many recipe books, and many cookery books, but we have no general history of the palate, and no history of cookery con-

* *Archæologia*, vol. xli., pp. 283-324.

sidered as one of the fine arts. Two books I may mention as exceptions, M. Brillat-Savarin's *Physiologie du Goût*,* and M. Soyer's *Pantropheon, or the History of Food and its Preparation from the Earliest Age of the World*. Mr. Coote well says, in allusion to the want of a history of the Roman palate, "This is not merely an omission in archæology, it is a blank left in the annals of taste." I would say more—the want of a general history of cookery, considered as one of the fine arts, is an omitted chapter in the history of civilization; for cookery—good cookery—is one of the most important weapons by which civilization defeats the law of Natural Selection—under which, among the brutes, the sickly and the weakly die off, and the strong alone survive.

Far be it from me to rush into the gap—I do not know enough; long years of study would be necessary, nor am I vain enough to think my own palate sufficiently discriminating. I can only reproduce what I have culled from others—from Athenæus, from Apicius, from Pegge's *Forme of Cury*, from Mr. Coote's able article, from Alexander Dumas (*Dictionnaire de Cuisine*), from Franchetti, and Soyer, and from accounts of ancient feasts and records of ancient house-keeping buried in the transactions of various archaeological societies.

To begin with the earliest inhabitants of this country—the palæolithic man, both river-drift and cave—we need not linger over him: there can be no historical continuity between the traditions of his kitchen, and those of ours. We do know something of how the cave-man cooked—the Esquimaux remains to tell us: his food, if cooked at all (and by the way, raw meat is in high lati-

* Anthelme Brillat-Savarin, judge of the Court of Cassation, member of the Legion of Honour, and of most of the scientific and literary societies of France, was born in 1755 at Belley. The *Physiologie du Goût* was published some time in 1825, and ran rapidly through five or six editions, besides reprints in Belgium. An English edition has just (1884) been published. The late Mr. Hayward, Q.C., says of it, "Its great charm consists in the singular mixture of wit, humour, learning, and knowledge of the world—*bons mots*, anecdotes, ingenious theories, and instructive dissertations—which it presents.—*The Art of Dining*, Murray, London, 1883, p. 49, where is a charming account of the *Physiologie du Goût*.

tudes conducive to health), is broiled or boiled. His vessels being of stone or wood, cannot be put on the fire; but heated stones are dropped in, until the water becomes hot enough, and the meat is cooked. The result is a mess of soot, dirt, and ashes, which, according to our notions, is intolerable; but (as Sir John Lubbock says, and I am quoting him) if the stench of an Esquimaux house does not take a man's appetite away, nothing else would be likely to do so.

But with the people the Romans found in this country we have a continuity, and it is worth while to inquire into what they had to cook, and how they cooked it.

From fragments which have come down to us, of the travels, in the fourth century before Christ, of Pytheas, the celebrated mathematician, we learn that wheat was abundant in the southern districts of Britain, and that the inhabitants made a drink of wheat and honey, still known in some districts as "metheglin," and he is the first authority for the description of the British beer, against which the Greek physicians warned their patients "as a drink producing pain in the head, and injury to the nerves."^{*}

Cæsar tells us somewhat more: in his account of Britain he distinguishes between the people dwelling on the coast and those who inhabited the interior, the former being emigrants from Belgium; of these he says that they cultivated the fields, and had a large number of cattle. "Leporem et gallinam et anserem gustare, fas non putant: haec tamen alunt, animi voluptatisque causa."[†] Of the inhabitants of the interior he says, "Interiores plerique frumenta non serunt, sed lacte et carne vivunt."[‡] Pre-historic archaeology has proved the truth of the statements made by Cæsar. In the kitchen-middens of this period we find the bones of the goat, the horned sheep, the small short-horned ox, the horse, the swine, and the dog, though the last was probably only eaten under stress of famine. Milk was probably a great staple of diet, and Canon Greenwell in this connection points out that at Grime's Graves, in Norfolk, where he excavated largely, a very large proportion of the numer-

ous bones found were of the ox, and nearly all were of animals of but a few days old. This, he says, seems to imply that the milk was required by the owner of the cattle, who could not spare it to keep the calves alive. Strabo expressly tells us the Britons had no cheese: the question is, had they any butter? It is nowhere mentioned that they had; if they had, it was probably churned in a skin, as the Arabs do to this day: hence it would be, like the Irish bog butter, full of hairs. The terraces, on which the people we are speaking of cultivated grain, have also been found, but we have stronger proof that they did cultivate grain in the numerous pestles, and mortars, and grain rubbers that are in our museums. These articles also show that their owners made some sort of dish out of the grain, whether mere crowdly, or porridge, or even bread I cannot say; but whatever it was, it was certainly full of sand and grits, as shown by the condition of their teeth, which, though often sound and strong, particularly among the older race, the longheads, are worn down to the very gum.

As for cooking utensils, their pottery was unglazed and porous: milk kept in it would soon be tainted, and as use is second nature, the earlier inhabitants of this country probably liked their milk "gamey," as do the inhabitants of the western isles of Scotland, where the "craggan" is still in use. Such vessels were ill adapted for cooking purposes; but in the later bronze period there were in Britain and in Ireland caldrons of thin plates of hammered bronze riveted together, some of conical, others of spheroidal shape. Whether there then were in the British Isles bronze-smiths capable of making these vessels, or whether the vessels were imported, I cannot now stop to discuss: my object in mentioning them was merely to show that these vessels were in the hands of the Britons, and that they thus had the means of boiling their food over a fire.

But, though the inhabitants of Britain had, when Cæsar arrived here, pots of bronze in which to boil, and viands with which to fill those pots, they could have had no cookery worth the name. They lacked two things essential in cookery: first of all they had no sugar: beet-root sugar and maple-sugar were not then invented, and cane-sugar was just

* Elton's *Origins of English History*, chap. I.

† Comm., lib. v., c. 12.

‡ *Ibid.*, c. 14.

known by travellers' tales to the Romans, who used honey, or sugar made from honey. But the Ancient Britons had not even this, for the late Professor Rolleston has shown that they had no domesticated bees, though they did make mead [metheglin] from the honey of wild bees. "Now if we only consider," says the Professor, "how largely separated sugars enter into the dietaries of the poorest amongst us, we shall be puzzled to understand how in the days of Caractacus, people cooked at all without sugar."* I believe that in England every adult consumes weekly seven-and-a-half ounces of sugar. The other essential to cookery that the earlier inhabitants of Britain lacked was oil. We unfortunately are obliged to use butter in our cookery instead of oil: the Ancient Britons certainly had no oil, and they either had no butter at all, or else it was full of hairs, and probably rancid. I am inclined to think that they, like more civilized countries, had no butter: according to Bishop Patrick, the Greeks had no butter in the fourth century before Christ; neither Homer, Euripides, Hesiod, nor Aristotle ever mention butter, though they mention cheese.

It is to the Romans we must accredit the introduction of the art of cookery into these islands.

I hope to show from whence the Romans got the art of cookery, and when: what their cookery was like, and the influence it has had upon the present state of the art in this country.

Like many other things, the art of cookery came from the East: the Romans got it from the Greeks, and the Greeks got it from the Lydians, whose cooks were highly celebrated.

Some archaeologists have speculated on the cookery of the antediluvians: as these persons were or ought to have been vegetarians, they probably cooked but little: the patriarchs seem to have been acquainted with roasting, boiling, and baking, and they knew how to make savoury meat with sauce, probably with oil, for though butter is mentioned in the Old Testament, cream is more likely meant. Kids and lambs were their main meats; the common fowl was unknown to the patriarchs; indeed, it is never mentioned by the writers of the Old Testament, nor by Homer or Hesiod. It was a later introduc-

* *British Barrows*, by Greenwell and Rolleston, p. 725.

tion, and found its way from India to Rome *via* the Red Sea, or far more probably by Babylon.

It is impossible to make a continuous history of the art of cookery from the times of the patriarchs downwards; we have to skip, and we pick up our thread again with the Lydians. Lydia was a district of Asia Minor, and was a very early seat of Asiatic civilization: from the Lydians the Greeks derived many civilized arts, such as the weaving and dyeing of fine fabrics; various processes of metallurgy; the use of gold and silver money; various metrical and musical improvements (particularly the musical scale); and the art of cookery.

We are now beginning to get upon the safe ground of a book on the subject, the *Δειπνοσοφισταί* (*Deipnosophistæ*), or *The Banquet of the Learned*, by Athenæus the grammarian. This book is a collection of *ana*, or anecdotes, on all sorts of things, particularly *Gastronomy*, and is put forth by Athenæus as a full account of the conversation at a banquet at Rome, at which he, Galen the physician, and Ulpian the jurist, were among the guests. Only a fragment of the book has come down to us: it is our authority for the high fame to which the Lydian cooks had attained. Athenæus also preserves for us the names of several writers on cookery, whose works, alas! are lost; he enumerates some seventeen, and these seventeen are not retired hotel-keepers, club-cooks, or old ladies, but doctors—doctors of high degree, such as Erasistratus of Ceos, the most famous anatomist and vivisectionist of his day, a physician second only to Hippocrates. Heraclides, who wrote on *Materia Medica*, and also wrote a commentary on Hippocrates; Criton of Rome, and Diocles of Eubœa, both distinguished medical writers. Don't let any one be surprised: in both classical and mediæval times, the arts of cookery and of healing were always considered closely allied. The word *curare* signifies equally to dress victuals and to cure a distemper. There is a well-known Latin adage—

Culina medicinæ famulatrix,
and another
Explicit coquina que est optima medicina.

The connection continued to the end of the

seventeenth century. In 1684 one Hartman, a chemist, published in one volume, *A choice collection of Select Remedies for all Distempers incident to Men, Women, and Children, together with excellent Directions for Cookery, and also for preserving and conserving.* The association of ideas still obtains at sea, and sailors always call their cook the doctor.

Not even fragments of the culinary works of these writers have come down to us, though some of their medical works have, and thus we are in darkness as to the Lydian and Greek art of Cookery, except so far as we learn it from Apicius, a book which I shall presently say a good deal about. But that among the Greeks the Art was highly thought of, we know from a quotation from a play of Euphron, preserved in Athenaeus—

Οὐδὲν ὁ μάγειρος τοῦ ποιητοῦ διαφέρει,
Ο νοῦς γάρ ἐστιν ἑκατέρῳ τούτων τέχνῃ.

The Romans at first were far from holding cooks in such honour : a military and an agricultural people, their original cookery was a very simple affair ; it was very vegetarian. Pliny describes an old-fashioned Roman dinner as—*Lactucae singulae, cochleariae ternae, ova bina, alica cum mulso et nive, oliveæ Bæticeæ, cucurbitæ, buibi, alia mille non minus lauta.* This peculiarity of being very vegetarian adheres to this day to the cookery of all the Latin races, and is (says Mr. Coote) in itself an evidence of much refinement.

The great national dish of the primitive Roman was *puls* : it was a sort of gruel, pap, or porridge made of *alica* (wheat grits) or of *simila* (semolina), flavoured with herbs, or brains. Sometimes it was merely milk and biscuit boiled together : a similar dish was *ptisana*, made from barley grits, and was a barley-water flavoured with herbs, vinegar, oil, and wine. The Roman had also a great weakness for sausages and smoked meats [*Lucanica, botelli, farcimina*]. Upon this simple style of cooking, the Greek art was grafted, and the rich, invigorating Asiatic-Greek sauces warmed up the simple Roman fare into life and energy.

We learn the date of this change from Livy, lib. xxxix. c. 6. Writing of the effects of the victories in the year 189 B.C. of Cneus Manlius Vulso in Asia, he says : *Luxuria enim peregrina origo ab exercitu*

Asiatico invecta in urbem est. After enumerating several instances, he says, “*Epulæ quoque ipsæ et cura et sumptu majore apparari cepta : tum coquus, vitissimum antiquis mancipium, et aestimatione et usu, in pretio esse ; et, quod ministerium fuerat, ars haberi cepta.*” Lucullus, also, after his victories over Mithridates and Tigranes, did a great deal to introduce sumptuous living into Rome. He had amassed vast treasures in Asia, and was thus able to gratify his taste for luxury and magnificence. The Romans threw all their strong nature into the new art : they became dinner-givers and diners-out ; ransacked their most distant provinces for new luxuries ; they discovered and imported the pheasant, the woodcock, and the guinea-fowl. Fame was to be attained by the successful culture of some new viand for the table : and Columella in his *De Re Rustica*, tells us that Sergius Orata, i.e., Sergius the gold brasse (a small fish), and Licinius Murena, i.e., Licinius the sea eel, derived their names from the successful cultivation of those fish for the table.

Of course there was a reaction. As Mr. Coote says, “ideas of such novelty taken second-hand from the lively and luxurious Greek, aroused what still remained of the stern and puritanical character of the Romans.” Sumptuary laws were enacted ; no one was allowed to have more than three guests to dinner ; dormice, and shell-fish, and strange birds brought from foreign countries (the pheasant, woodcock, and guinea-fowl) were prohibited. “No success,” says Mr. Coote, “could wait on such grim essays at retrogression. They accordingly proved failures, and the efforts of sumptuary laws and censors could not drive the Roman gentleman back into the plain cookery of his ancestors.”

Now there has come down to us a book, which reveals to us the taste of the Roman palate—and the dishes of this Asiatico-Greeko-Romano-art which pleased it. It is a book whose name sounds familiar to most people, but which few, even among scholars, have ever seen. It rarely occurs even in the best libraries. No translation exists ; the production of one would puzzle the best scholars of the day, who are not, as a rule, familiar with the terms of the art of the Roman or English kitchen.

But Smollett had read Apicius, and understood it too, and he had read the commentators, Humelbergius and Lister, and the famous "Dinner in the Manner of the Ancients," in *Peregrine Pickle*, is the work of a scholar in culinary matters.

The title of the work is—*Apicci Cœli de Opsoniis et Condimentis sive Arte Coquinaria Libri Decem*. "The ten books of Apicus Coelius upon Viands and Sauces, or the Art of Cookery."

Now Apicus did not write the book; he was no more a cook than I am; he was a famous *bon vivant* and *gourmet*, who flourished under the Emperor Tiberius, and whose name has passed into a proverb in all matters connected with the pleasures of the table. The dull idiot who wrote the account of him in the *Classical Dictionary* calls him a *glutton*, and a more stupid libel was never penned, and that upon one whom all writers, from Juvenal and Martial downwards, have agreed to take as the representative of the *haute cuisine* of ancient Rome; upon one who, as Pliny tells us, was the first to introduce to public notice *cymæ et coliculi*, in other words Brussels Sprouts, a dish which charmed the Emperor Tiberius, though it shocked the rigid principle of the virtuous Drusus.

The name of the compiler is unknown. Mr. Coote pleasantly conjectures him to have been the Soyer or Francatelli of the period, who prefixed the name of Apicus to his book by way of a good advertisement. Many of the dishes owe their nomenclature to historical personages, and by these names Mr. Coote is able to show that the book contains recipes ranging from the time of the Republic to the Emperor Heliogabalus; but the book is the composition of one writer, as shown by its cross references. Mr. Coote remarks, "In its literal style it resembles Mrs. Glasse, in her pleasant pleonasm and sagacious comments." For convenience I shall call the book by the name on its title page, Apicus, and the school of cookery it teaches the Apician.

There have been several editions of this Roman cookery book, but I need not trouble now about them. The best is that of 1705, edited by Dr. Martin Lister, "e Medicis Domesticis serenissimæ Reginæ Annæ." Of this only one hundred and twenty copies were printed, at the expense, as recorded on the

back of the title page, of eighteen gentlemen, among whom were the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Norwich and of Bath and Wells; the Earls of Sunderland and Roxburgh; Sir Robert Harley, Sir Christopher Wren, Isaac Newton, Flamstead the Astronomer-Royal, Hans Sloane, etc. Since this publication the book has fallen almost entirely into oblivion, and the learned editor has been forgotten; but in his day he was a well-known London celebrity.

I must proceed to take some pickings from it.

The Roman *batterie de cuisine* much resembles ours, ours indeed being descended from it. Although we may have new inventions, I doubt if we have anything better: indeed Dr. Bruce told me that the Duke of Northumberland's French *chef* had had reproduced for his own use some of the Roman cooking implements in the duke's museum at Alnwick. Large collections of them are in the museums at Herculaneum and Pompeii. Their usual material is bronze tinned, but silver was frequently used. The Romans had the spit (*veru*), the gridiron (*craticula*), and the frying-pan (*sartago*). They had saucepans of every size, *cacabus*, *cacabulus*, *sema*, *angularis*, *pultarium*. The Roman saucepan differed in shape somewhat from ours: ours broaden to their base; the Roman narrowed like a teacup; and had a long flat side handle terminating in a circular expansion at the end, in which was a hole, so that the pan could be hung up by its handle. It has been objected that the Roman shape would upset very easily on a fire: so it would, on an open coal fire, but the Roman mainly cooked with charcoal, and to a great extent on stoves. Their saucepans seem to have been made in sets of five, each being, in capacity, a regular multiple of five *cyathi*, the *cyathus* being a Roman measure equal to .08 of our pint. A set preserved at Castle Howard hold each ten, fifteen, twenty-five, fifty, and sixty *cyathi*, and the smallest would hold four-fifths of a pint of our measure. There was the stewpan of bronze, *patina*, *patella*, and of earthenware, *cumana*; the braizing pan (*thermospodion*), the oven (*furnus*), the Dutch oven (*clibanus*), the *bain marie* pan (*duplex vas*). A net (*reticulus*), or a basket (*sportella*), was sometimes used in boiling: they had

steaming apparatus, strainers, skimmers, dry ing cloths, moulds, etc., mortars, pestles, hand mills, etc. The mortars (*mortaria*) are the best known of the Roman kitchen utensils to us : fragments of them turn up everywhere. They were usually made of yellow, drab, or fawn-coloured clay, sometimes of Samian ware, and the surface of the interior is often studded with small siliceous stones, broken quartz, and scoria of iron, to help attrition. When we come to understand the character of Roman cookery, we shall see why the remains of *mortaria* are so common.

We now come to a most important matter ; the consideration of the Roman sauces as given in the pages of Apicius. On sauces Mr. Coote remarks, " As sauces are the demonstrations of cookery as a fine art, so they are the measure and gauge of its excellence." In fact, the excellence of any particular school of cookery is to be measured by the excellence of its sauces.

The general sauces of English cookery are formed of meat gravy with the flavouring of onion, spices, and *fines herbes*, the whole being inspirited by the addition of wine. To this conjunction is added ketchup, rarely anchovy ; and where it is required the sauces are thickened by flour or arrowroot. The Roman sauces are the same in principle, and, with some exceptions, nearly the same in fact. The Roman cooks used honey for perfecting these sauces, where we now use sugar—cane, beet, or maple. Cane sugar was only just known to them by travellers' tales ; beet and maple were not invented. But we must not imagine the Roman cooks used honey in the state we eat it at breakfast : it would be clarified, and manufactured, and the product (the *clere honey* of mediæval cooks), clarified by the whites of eggs and other means, would not be unlike our sugar. In fact, honey, as we use it, would bear about the same relation to it as used by the Roman cooks that the raw sugar-cane juice does to manufactured white sugar. Again, the Roman cooks used oil, where we use butter, "barbarian butter" Mr. Coote calls it, and there can be no doubt that in cookery oil is infinitely superior to butter. But it is essential that the oil should be fresh and good, and it is very difficult indeed in this country to get.

Instead of meat essence, which our cooks

use largely, the Romans used wine, and various decoctions of wine, as we English did in mediæval times—viz., *merum*, *defrutum*, *carenum*, *mulsum*, *passum*, all of which, except the first, were wines boiled down in different degrees, sometimes with honey.

The Romans used *herbes potagères* very largely. I give a list of their English names; we shall recognise them all as old English pot-herbs, used in English cookery. In fact, most of them were brought here by the Romans.

lovage	...	... ligisticum
sage	...	... salvia
cummin	...	... cuminum
coriander	...	... coriandrum
marjoram	...	... origanum
rue	...	... ruta
dill, anise	...	... anetum
basil	...	... ocymum
mint	...	... mentha
thyme	...	... thymum
wild thyme	...	...
fennel	...	... feniculus
parsley	...	... petrosilium, petroselinum
pennyroyal	...	... pulegium
cat mint	...	... nepeta
savory	...	... satureia
saffron	...	...
asparagus	...	... asparagus
onion	...	... cepa
leek	...	... porrus
button onion	...	... cepulla
garlic	...	... alias
cyperus (galingage)	...	... cyperus

The seeds of many plants were in constant use :—

celery (or smallage)	apium
rocket	...
rocket	...
caraway	...
mustard	...
cummin	...
aniseed	...

Berries :—

rue	...	... ruta
laurel	...	... laurus
myrtle	...	... myrtha
juniper	...	... juniperus
lentise (marlich)	...	... lentiscus

Fruits :—

pine nuts	...	... nuclei
walnuts	...	... nuces juglandes
filberts	...	... pontica
hazel nuts	...	...
dates	...	... caryota, dactylus
damsons	...	... damascena
plums	...	...
raisins	...	... uva passa
almonds	...	... amygdala
quinces	...	... mala Cydonia

were all used in the making of sauces.

Of spices they had plenty: pepper, long and short, ginger, malobathrum, cassium, folium, costus, spikenard—all from the East. Then they had another spice, a host in itself, *silphium*, *laser*, or *laserpitium*, used in root, leaf, and in juice. This was once the staple product of Cyrene, and sold almost for its weight in silver. It is now lost; we don't know what it was; the coins of Cyrene show it to have been an umbelliferous plant; assafetida has been suggested, and Smollett adopts this notion, and introduces, at the "Dinner in the Manner of the Ancients," a jelly of vinegar, pickle, and honey boiled together, and garnished with candied assafetida. But Humelbergius and Dr. Lister strongly oppose this view. Assafetida is even now used in cookery by modern Arabs.

Cinnamon the Romans did not use, except on the funeral pyre. But with that exception, and the exception of lemon juice, almost all things that offered zest, that insured flavour, that assisted appetite, and promoted digestion, were imported by the Roman into sauce and stew.

There was a something else with which Roman cooks tempered all their sauces and all their dishes—namely, *garum* or *liquamen*. It was a sauce made from the intestines and heads of large fish—the tunny, the sturgeon, the mackerel: these were mixed in a vat with salt, and were exposed to the sun for a long time; wine was added, and pot herbs. The art is now completely lost, and we do not know what was this *garum* or *liquamen* which was so dear to the Roman palate. Where it was used salt was never used, and therefore *garum* must have had a salt flavour; yet it was bad if it was too salt, and honey then was added to it; salt fish were washed in it, to take away their saltiness. On the whole, one is inclined to think that *garum* was a thin sauce with a delicate salt flavour, a *nuance*, says Mr. Coote, "a *souçon* which recalled to the jaded Roman the healthy ozonic air of the fresh and tone-giving seas of Baiae and Tarentum." Smollett substitutes herring pickle for it.

To go back to sauces in general: the gravy of the object for which the sauce was intended, was also mixed with the sauce. Starch, bread, and wafer biscuits were used for thickening sauces, also eggs, cooked or raw.

(To be continued.)

The Two Pedlar Legends of Lambeth and Swaffham.



WO very distant and distinct places have two nearly-related traditions—Lambeth in Surrey, and Swaffham in Norfolk. Both the legends are commemorated by memorials in the parish church, and last month we had the mortification to record that the church window at Lambeth, dedicated to the Pedlar, had been removed, to make room for a modern memorial window. We are glad to see that the parishioners of Lambeth have bestirred themselves, and compelled the vicar to promise



restoration. So far, good. The restoration is not to be made to the place where the window was removed from, but a new window is to be built nearer to the original spot. If Lambeth people care to accept this compromise, archaeologists will not; if the window may thus be shifted from one place to another, at every one's bidding, there will be no security for its lasting preservation. We shall continue to urge the complete restoration of the window, and we trust that the people of Lambeth will be true to their local celebrities, and insist upon this illegal removal being remedied.

Let us now consider the history of this famed pedlar of Lambeth. An account is given in Allen's *History of Lambeth*, but the

best is that given in *Long Ago* for September 1873 (vol. i, p. 271), taken from a manuscript in the handwriting of Archdeacon Drune, formerly rector of Lambeth. A descendant of the venerable Archdeacon, the Rev. Bradford Drune Hawkins, Rector of Riverdale, Witham, forwarded the account to the editor of *Long Ago*; and the following is a literal transcript:—

"Among the estates belonging to the parish of Lambeth is a piece of land, antiently call'd Church Hopys,* but since called Pedlar's Acre. For what reasons it was so call'd I cannot learn, finding no historical vouchers to justify what the writer of the *New View of London* says about it in page 381; that a Pedlar gave this acre of land, besides ye following Benefactions in money, viz.:—

To ye Parish	£6 0 0
To ye Archbishop	100 0 0
To ye Rector	20 0 0
To ye Clerk and Sexton each	10 0 0

for leave (as tradition reports) to bury his dog in ye churchyard. So far is true, that there is a Picture of a Pedlar and his dog in painted glass in ye window over ye Pulpit; wh suffering by the high wind was renewed at ye Parish expense in 1703 (*Vestry Book*, fol. 7-19). There appears to have been a like picture there in 1607 (*Old Vestry Book*, fol. 171—173), tho' this Land was not then call'd by ye name of Pedlar's Acre: nor in the lease granted February 20th, 1656. The first mention of that name, as far as I can find, was in ye lease August 6th, 1690. And might not this story take its rise from another Benefactor? of whom we have ye following account given by Bp. Gibson in his Edition of *Camden*. 'Henry Smith was once a Silver Smith in London, but he did not follow that trade long. He afterwards went a begging for many years, and was commonly called Dog Smith, because he had a dog wh always followed him—when he dyed, he left a very great estate in ye hands of Trustees upon a general acct of Charity, and more particularly for Surrey—After ye Trustees had made a considerable improvement of ye estate, and purchas'd several farms, they settled 50d. per annum or thereabouts upon every market-

town in Surrey, or gave 100old. in money upon every Parish excepting one or two they settled a yearly revenue. Among ye rest Lambeth has 10d.' (*Camden*, vol. i, p. 393.) From this acct I should suspect ye picture of ye *Pedlar and his Dog* to have been put up in memory of Mr. Smith, and to have no relation to ye Benefactor, who gave Church Hopys; could I acct for its being put up before his death, as it was in 1607, whereas he dyed in 1627, and was bur. at Wandsworth,—And yet such seems to have been ye Temper of ye man, yt he might do this in his own lifetime (as tradition says of the Pedlar), upon ye burial of his Dog in ye churchyard. He was whipt at Mitcham as a common vagrant for wh reason this parish was excluded from his Benefactions (*Aubrey's History*, vol. ii, p. 142). The Benefactor is unknown; but it appears to have been ye estate of ye Parish befor ye year 1504,* for its Rent was then brought into the Church Account; and its Title was defended† out of the Church Stock, agst the claim of Mr. Easton in 1581. It was formerly‡ an osier ground, and then let at small rack rents,§ but being afterwards severed and inclosed as a meadow, long leases were granted of it, and probably with a view to building; the last whereof dated August 6, 1690, for a term of 61 years at the yearly rent of £4, payable quarterly."

This account seems to contain all that is to be found about the Lambeth Pedlar and his acre. In 1851 Mr. John Smith asked in

Old Vestry Book, fol. 2-5.

† *Old Vestry Book*, fol. 104, and 108—110. Mr. Easton's claim was probably from a purchase of lands, given to superstitious uses under a Statute I. Edward VI., cap. 14, section 5 (1542), wh vested such in ye crown (Gibson, Cod. 2nd vol., p. 1256). The Court Rolls were searched and quit-rent paid for it in 1648.—*Old Vestry Book*, fol. 2836.

‡ So called in 1623 (*Old Vestry Book*, fol. 223-6 225-a), in 1629 (*Old Vestry Book*, fol. 241), and in 1654 (*Vestry Book*, fol. 1), but in ye lease February 6, 1656, it was served and inclosed as a meadow, having been an osier Hoper. Thus described likewise in ye lease August 6, 1690, though it be also there called *Pedlar's Acre*, and as containing by estimation one acre more or less, tho' I never found it so call'd in ye Parish Acct Books till 1705.

§ At 2s. 8d. in 1504 (*Old Vestry Book*, fol. 2-5) at 4s. in 1514 (fol. 9-19), at 5s. in 1554 (fol. 52-55) at 6s. 8d. in 1557 (fol. 54), at 13s. 4d. in 1565 (fol. 63), at 1ld. 6s. 8d. in 1581 (fol. 106-6), and at that rent with a fine of 50d. to Hen. Price, upon a lease of 21

* *Old Vestry Book*, fol. 2-5.

the pages of Willis's *Current Notes* (p. 59), whether any information could be obtained which connected the pedlar with the Henry Smith mentioned above, but he obtained no reply in response to his query, and we must perforce leave the question where it is, as a local legend which has still some form of attraction in it. But the point to dwell upon is that the present form of the legend is no doubt fragmentary; and the lost portion may perhaps be yet regained. The cue to this lost part may be found perhaps in the more perfectly preserved legend of the Pedlar of Swaffham. The representation of this worthy is carved in wood, and below him is what is commonly called a dog, though Blomefield (*Hist. of Norfolk*, iii. 507) suggests it is a bear. At all events here is a similar picture to the Lambeth window, and to this is attached a legend of some importance. It would be interesting if the spoliation of the Lambeth window were made the starting-point for an inquiry, which should ultimately result in linking the legend of the Lambeth Pedlar to that class of local legends which the Swaffham Pedlar shows to be of remote antiquity.

It is worth while turning to the legend of the Pedlar of Swaffham. It takes us into the archaic studies of comparative storyology. The earliest account of this story to be found is that by Sir Roger Twysden quoted in Blomefield's *History of Norfolk* (vol. vi., pp. 211-213). Another, and it appears an independent version, is given in the *Diary of Abraham de la Pryme*, published by the Surtees Society. At p. 220 of this volume, under the date 10 Nov. 1699, the following relation occurs, and we quote this because it is less generally known than

years in 1620 (fol. 212), but for 61 years commencing from Xmas, 1659, to Edw. Smith, by lease dated February 24, 1656 (*Vestry Book*, fol. 14 and lease), which lease came afterwards to Bernard Whalley, Esq., of Bickley, Warwickshire, in right of his wife Lucy, dr to ye said Edw. Smith, who surrendered it in 1690, and had 61 years added to it in a new lease granted August 6, 1690, but to commence at Xmas following, by Geo. Hooper, D.D., John Acworth, Thomas Rode, and Tho. Walker, then Rector and Churchwardens of the Parish, upon paying a fine of gold. This lease was assigned to Tho. Wymondegold, December 6, 1690, who paid 250ld. for it to Mr. Whalley, probably in consideration of ye 30 years unexpir'd in his former lease.

that given in Blomefield, and should be compared with that version :—

Constant tradition says that there lived in former times, in Soffham (Swaffham), alias Sopham, in Norfolk, a certain pedlar, who dreamed that if he went to London bridge, and stood there, he should hear very joyfull newse, which he at first slighted, but afterwards, his dream being doubled and trebled upon him, he resolved to try the issue of it, and accordingly went to London, and stood on the bridge there two or three days, looking about him, but heard nothing that might yield him any comfort. At last it happened that a shopkeeper there, hard by, having noted his fruitless standing, seeing that he neither sold any wares nor asked any almes, went to him and most earnestly begged to know what he wanted there, or what his business was; to which the pedlar honestly answered, that he had dreamed that if he came to London and stood there upon the bridge, he should hear good newse; at which the shopkeeper laught heartily, asking him if he was such a fool as to take a journey on such a silly errand, adding, "I'll tell thee, country fellow, last night I dreamed that I was at Sopham, in Norfolk, a place utterly unknown to me, where methought behind a pedlar's house in a certain orchard, and under a great oak tree, if I digged I should find a vast treasure! Now think you," says he, "that I am such a fool to take such a long journey upon me upon the instigation of a silly dream? No, no, I'm wiser. Therefore, good fellow, learn witt from me, and get you home, and mind your business." The pedlar, observing his words, what he had say'd he dream'd and knowing they concenter'd in him, glad of such joyful newse went speedily home, and digged and found a prodigious great treasure, with which he grew exceeding rich, and Soffham (Church) being for the most part fal'n down, he set on workmen and reedyd it most sumptuously, at his own charges; and to this day there is his statue therein, but in stone, with his pack at his back, and his dogg at his heels; and his memory is also preserved by the same form or picture in most of the old glass windows, taverns, and alehouses of that town unto this day.

Now this version from Abraham de la Pryme was certainly obtained from local sources, and it shows the general popularity of the legend, together with the faithfulness of the traditional version. But other evidence of the traditional force of the story is to be found. Observing that Pryme's *Diary* was not printed until 1870, though certainly the MS. had been lent to antiquaries, it is rather curious that the following almost identical account is told in the *St. James's Chronicle*, of 28th November, 1786, which shows that the writer had obtained the legend from the same source as Abraham de la Pryme, and that the traditional form had been faithfully preserved :—

A Pedlar who lived many Years ago at Swaffham, in Norfolk, dreamt, that if he came up to London, and stood upon the Bridge, he should hear very joyful News ; which he at first slighted, but afterwards his Dream being doubled and trebled unto him, he resolved to try the Issue of it ; and accordingly to London he came, and stood on the Bridge for two or three Days, but heard nothing which might give him Comfort that the Profits of his Journey would be equal to his Pains. At last it so happened, that a Shopkeeper there, having noted his fruitless standing, seeing that he neither sold any Wares, nor asked any Alms, went to him, and enquired his Business ; to which the Pedlar made Answer, that being a Countryman, he had dreamt a Dream, that if he came up to London, he should hear good News : "And art thou (said the Shopkeeper) such a Fool, to take a Journey on such a foolish Errand ? Why I tell thee this—last Night I dreamt, that I was at Swaffham, in Norfolk, a Place utterly unknown to me, where, methought, behind a Pedlar's House, in a certain Orchard, under a great Oak Tree, if I digged there, I should find a mighty Mass of Treasure.

"Now think you, that I am so unwise, as to take so long a Journey upon me, only by the Instigation of a foolish Dream ! No, no, far be such Folly from me ; therefore, honest Countryman, I advise thee to make haste Home again, and do not spend thy precious Time in the Expectation of the Event of an idle Dream."

The Pedlar, who noted well his Words, glad of such joyful News, went speedily Home, and digged under the Oak, where he found a very large Heap of Money ; with Part of which, the Church being then lately fallen down, he very sumptuously rebuilt it ; having his Statue cut therein, in Stone, with his Pack on his Back and his Dog at his Heels, which is to be seen at this Day. And his Memory is also preserved by the same Form, or Picture, on most of the Glass Windows of the Taverns and Alehouses in that Town.

I am not a Bigot in Dreams, yet I cannot help acknowledging the Relation of the above made a strong Impression on me.

Yours, Z.

In Glyde's *Norfolk Garland*, p. 69, is an account of this legend, but with an additional fact. The box containing the treasure had a Latin inscription on the lid, which, of course, John Chapman could not decipher. He craftily put the lid in his window, and very soon he heard some youths turn the Latin sentence into English :

Under me doth lie
Another much richer than I.

And he went to work digging deeper than before, and found a much richer treasure than the former. Another version of this rhyme is found in *Transactions of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, vol. iii., p. 318 :

Where this stood
Is another as good.

Now this gives us the history of the story as it is found recorded in English literature. Blomefield in his *History of Norfolk* points out that the same story is found in Johannes Fungerus' *Etymologicon Latino-Graecum*, pp. 1110-1111, though it is here narrated of a man at Dort in Holland. This opens the wide door of comparative storyology, as it has sometimes conveniently, though not elegantly, been called. Professor Cowell, in the third volume of the *Cambridge Antiquarian Society Transactions*, p. 320, has printed a remarkable parallel of the story which is to be found in the great Persian metaphysical and religious poem called the *Masnavi*, written by Jaláluddin, who died about 1260. No doubt these facts establish the story as one of the great group of stories which folklorists study and carry to such remote antiquity for their origin.

One or two other Pedlar legends exist in England, and if we could get these collected together, so that proper comparison could be made, we might discover, even at this late hour, the earlier form of the Lambeth legend, and we hope our readers will assist this effort. Legends of buried treasure are very numerous, and the pedlars of Old England were a class of men of considerable importance.



The Tower Guards (1648).

III.

(Continued from p. 58.)

By J. H. ROUND.



FTER the fall of Colchester "Colonel Rainsborough's regiment" disappears from our view for some weeks. From a passage in a letter of the Yorkshire Committee, carefully reproduced by Mr. Peacock,* we gather that it must have reached Doncaster, in Yorkshire, as early as the 30th of September or 1st of

* *Archæologia*, xlvi., pp. 42-3.

October.* They could scarcely have marched to Doncaster from St. Albans in less than ten days, and would not, therefore, have left St. Albans later than the 22nd of September. Now Fairfax reached St. Albans on the 21st of September, and a letter, written from his head-quarters two days later, happens to mention that

the Lord-General hath sent Colonel Rainsborough's Regiment towards the North to be assisting in the service there.†

The movements of Rainsborough himself are to me very puzzling. Mr. Peacock says that he

returned to London, and, as we gather from what followed after, resided there for some weeks;‡

and adduces, in support of this, the fact that on the 30th of September Colonel Rainborowe . . . was assaulted by three of the King's party . . . on the very same day a captain in the army and a major were attacked and both of them killed,§

quoting from Whitelocke and Rushworth. But it will be seen, from the more careful account in Rushworth, that no date is assigned for the attack on Rainsborough (except that it must have been anterior to the 30th), and that the other two deaths were reported on the 30th as having taken place "the last week."|| With the exception, I believe, of this passing glimpse, we have no mention whatever of Rainsborough from the 28th of August to the 16th (or 17th) of October, and it would certainly seem that his Regiment must have marched to Doncaster without him. Mr. Peacock says that, in the course of October,

Rainborowe received orders from Fairfax, the Lord-General, to take the chief command of the forces besieging Pontefract Castle; he had under his command a considerable body of foot and horse.

[NOTE] Rushworth, part iv., ii. 1310, says he had two regiments of foot and two of horse. The *Surtees*

* "Here that regiment [Colonel Rainsbrough's] hath bene now these twenty daies to the great charge of the countay, about ten miles distance from Pomerell" (20th October). As this letter was meant for the eye of the Speaker, the above statement must have been accurate, or the Committee would not have ventured upon it.

† St. Albans, September 23rd, 1648 (Rushworth, p. 1271).

‡ Archaeologia, p. 39.

§ Ib.

|| Rushworth, p. 1279.

Miscellany, p. 96, quoting Paulden (?), says twelve hundred foot and a regiment of horse.*

I venture to think that he has here confused Rainsborough's men advancing from the south with Cromwell's force advancing from the north. The "two regiments of horse and two of foot," spoken of by Rushworth, belonged to Cromwell's force; Rainsborough's force, on the other hand, is spoken of as his "Regiment."†

Mr. Peacock also holds that the halt at Doncaster was the consequence of Cholmeley's refusal to hand over his command to Rainsborough.‡ But the regiment, as I have shown, halted at Doncaster not later than the 1st of October, and it was not till "some time during that month"§ that Rainsborough received his commission, nor was it till the 16th or 17th that he presented himself at the Leaguer before Pontefract and displayed it to the indignant Cholmeley. The latter, though evidently an incompetent, if not a half-hearted commander, flatly refused to hand over to Rainsborough, in his eyes a junior colonel, the large body of county forces, which were collected under him around the Castle.|| Rainsborough thereupon betook himself to York, to lay his case before the county committee, as the nearest authority capable of bringing Cholmeley to reason. Meanwhile the latter instantly penned two despatches, one southwards to the House of Commons, complaining of the indignity thus put upon him,¶ the other northwards to the Lieutenant-General, requesting him to solve the difficulty by taking over the command himself.**

* Archaeologia, xlvi. 41.

+ "When Colonel Rainsborow's Regiment is come up to us, they shall keep them up closer." Letter from Pontefract (Rushworth, IV., ii. 1294, cf. p. 1271). Compare Cholmeley's letter: "His regiment being now at Doncaster." The Committee also speaks of his force as "that regiment," and Paulden writes: "About this time . . . came C. Rainsborough, with his regiment of foot out of y^e south" (Archaeologia, xlvi. 60).

‡ Archaeologia, xlvi. 41.

§ Ib.

|| It would seem from this quarrel that the officers of militia considered themselves on an equality in military precedence with those of the regular forces.

¶ This letter was read in the House on the 20th, when Rushworth gives an abstract of it (p. 1300), and ordered to be sent on to Fairfax. It has been carefully reproduced by Mr. Peacock (p. 42).

** Mr. Peacock appears to hold that this letter was

Cromwell was by this time at Newcastle, and the letter must have reached him there. On the 20th he advanced to Durham, and it is even stated that the "van" of his army was to reach "Pomfret" the same day.*

On the 17th Colonel Rainsborough had his first interview with the Committee, who succeeded in effecting a compromise by the evening of the 19th. But on the morning of the 20th he informed them that he must decline to make any concession, and withdrew, in dudgeon, to Doncaster. The despairing Committee, having failed in their efforts, wrote at once to the Commons to narrate the above facts, and implore their prompt intervention.† But, at the request of Sir Henry Cholmeley, and following his own example, they also wrote, at the same time, to the Lieutenant-General (Cromwell), begging him to assume the command in person. This letter met him the following day at "Duresme" (Durham), on his southward march (21st October),‡ and, in reply, he sent them word that there were already upon their March two Regiments of Horse and two of Foot, which would be there in four or five days, and he would come himself with what speed he could.§

These "four or five days" would bring us to about the 26th, and on that day Sir Henry Cholmeley, to whom the Committee had forwarded Cromwell's reply, writes to the Speaker, on the strength of it, that he [Cromwell] will be at Pontefract to-morrowe with

written before Cholmeley knew of Rainsborough's commission (p. 44), but I am compelled to believe that, like the other, it was the direct result of his learning it.

* Letter "from Newcastle, October 16th" (*sic*, but should be 19th) in *Rushworth* (p. 1306).

† *Archæologia*, xlvi. 42-3.

‡ Compare a letter from Newcastle of 20th October in *Packet of Letters* (24th October):—"Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell is going for Duresme and so on for Pomfret." It is exceedingly difficult to disentangle the exact dates of Cromwell's movements at this crisis. I have, however, ascertained them to be as follows. He was at Newcastle from the 16th to the 20th (Oct.), and marched thence to Durham, where he remained from the 20th to the 24th, on which day he advanced to Barnard's Castle, on the Yorkshire border, to meet the assembled gentlemen of the Northern Counties. Cholmeley, as we shall see, expected him at Pontefract on the 27th, and the York correspondent, writing independently on the 28th, says, "This day Lieutenant-General Cromwell is expected to come [*i.e.* to Pontefract] with forces" (*Rushworth*, p. 1314).

§ *Rushworth*, p. 1310.

with (*sic*) twoe Regiments of Horse and some foote, etc., etc.*

The sequence of events being thus clear, I cannot see why Mr. Peacock should throw doubt on Cholmeley's words:—

Sir Henry Cholmeley had, or professed to have, heard from Cromwell before the following letter was written. There must have been, however, some mistake or falsification, for he declares that he hopes for his arrival on the morrow—that is Friday, the 27th of October, whereas it would appear that Cromwell did not reach Pontefract until about the 9th of November.†

I can only suppose that he must have overlooked Cromwell's letter from Durham, and yet he himself refers to the passage.‡ Moreover, as to the date of Cromwell's arrival before Pontefract, it is clear, I think, that he had taken up his quarters "at Biron House, near Pontefract," at least as early as the 1st of November, for the fact is mentioned in a despatch which reached London on the 4th.§

On the 28th an anonymous correspondent sent up from York a most alarming description of those "desperate men," the "Pontefract-blades," and of their doings, which he traces to the fact that

Col. Rainsborough is come no nearer than Doncaster, and the poor country suffereth.||

The very next morning Colonel Rainsborough himself was slain at Doncaster, in his own quarters, in a confused scuffle with some horsemen from Pontefract, who had attempted the daring feat of carrying him off prisoner.

Of this event the industry of Mr. Peacock has compiled so admirable and exhaustive an account that nothing can be added to it. I shall content myself with glancing at the motives of the Pontefract cavaliers. In the first place, it is only fair to compare this attempt with the precisely similar enterprise by which they had captured Pontefract Castle, of which the governor, when surprised in the same way in his chamber, had similarly refused their offers of quarter, and had made a desperate resistance.¶ Fortu-

* *Archæologia*, xlvi. 45.

† *Ib.*, xlvi. 45.

‡ *Ib.*, p. 41.

§ *Rushworth*, p. 1319.

|| *Ib.*, p. 1314.

¶ *Archæologia*, xlvi. 56-7.

nately, he recovered from the wounds he received, and it is clear that his assailants, on that occasion, had no wish to kill him. So, too, they had surprised Sir Arthur Ingram, and carried him off from his own house into Pontefract Castle.* It may fairly be presumed that they had similarly intended merely to make Rainsborough their prisoner. And this presumption is greatly strengthened by the circumstances of the time. For they had had, as yet, "an easy enemy," but now that regular troops were closing in on them from the north and from the south, their position was becoming serious, and might soon be one of danger. It is, therefore, surely, highly credible that they should have intended, as we are told,

to carry off Rainborowe to the castle, and hold him to ransom in exchange for Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who was then a prisoner in Nottingham Castle, and who, they feared, was about to share the fate of Lucas and Lisle.†

There can, indeed, be little doubt that Langdale, had he not luckily effected his escape, would have been put to death with Hamilton and Capel for his share in the common enterprise, and even if Rainsborough had not been required as a hostage for his safety, he would obviously have been, from his position and influence, an invaluable pledge for the safety of the besieged garrison itself, just as the besieged loyalists in Colchester had detained the Essex Committee, with the same object, up to the close of the siege. On the other hand, to plan the *murder* of Rainsborough would be a scheme, under these circumstances, so absolutely suicidal that I cannot accept it as credible. It would only exasperate beyond control the already embittered army, and end, as indeed his death did, in bringing the principals to the gallows. On these grounds I am compelled to believe that Paulden speaks the truth when he says that they were "not willing to kill him."‡ Mr. Peacock, indeed, argues that

On the other hand, the Puritan writers are all agreed that the design included bloodshed from the beginning.§

* *Rushworth*, p. 1294; cf. *Archæologia*, xlvi. 40.

† *Archæologia*, xlvi. 46.

‡ *Archæologia*, xlvi. 61.

§ *Ib.*, p. 47.

But I do not see what importance can be attached to the evidence of those who were not in the secret, and who were naturally writing with the strongest prejudice after Rainsborough's unfortunate death.

Opinions may fairly differ as to the merits of the enterprise, but, as to its event, we are bound to remember, while sympathizing with the sturdy Independent, who, whether a "fanatic" or not,* died fighting bravely for his life, that in refusing his captors' offer of quarter, he exposed himself to the inevitable consequence, and that his assailants, surrounded by his troops, carried their lives in their hands.

This dashing raid of the cavaliers bears, in its details, a striking resemblance to another famous tale of "the North Countree," the ballad of "Clym of the Clough and Willyam of Cloudesle" :—

Then spake him Clym of the Clough,
Wyth a wyle we wyl vs in bryng ;
Let vs saye we be messengers,
Streyght come nowe from our king.
* * * * *

Nowe are we in, sayde Adame Bell,
Thereof we are full faine,
But Christe knows, that harowed hell,
How we shall com out agayne.

The "wyle" by which Clym of the Clough made his way into Carlisle was the very one by which the cavaliers gained admission into Pontefract.

Meanwhile, the existence of the Tower Regiment was itself being gravely threatened. On the very eve of its colonel's death, Fairfax and his staff had formulated their demand that the establishment should be increased by 3,000 men, "whereof eight companies to be of Col. Rainsborough's regiment."† But the Commons had been playing their own game. Some three weeks before, on the 9th of October, they had finally presented to the king, for his acceptance, their "Proposition concerning the Militia," perpetuating for nearly twenty years the arrangement embodied in that "Ordinance for the Militia" which they had passed so reluctantly the previous May. By the last clause of this "Proposition"

* Mr. Markham is responsible for the epithet (*Life of Fairfax*, p. 287).

† 28th October (*Rushworth*, p. 1309).

(which the king had accepted the same day), it was provided

That the Tower of London may be in the government of the city of London, and the chief officer or governor thereof from time to time, to be nominated removable by the Common Council.*

This settlement had obviously destroyed the *raison d'être* of "the Tower Guards," and had supplied the House with an excellent plea for the old cry of "disbandment." It was impossible, however, to propose this just when they were the only Regulars available for Pontefract Leaguer (9th October). But the hastening close of the struggle soon removed this obstacle. On the 9th of November, the House

was informed that the Tower of London was in some danger of surprizal by reason of much resort thereunto by Malignants and other desperate Persons, and having an inconsiderable Guard besides, which, with the disaffection of many of them, did occasion much fear thereof.†

But the warning did not avail to divert the House from its purpose, and on Saturday, November the 25th, it

voted likewise that the Tower Regiment, late under the command of Col. Rainsborough, should be forthwith disbanded.‡

With this entry I close my story of "the Tower Guards," and of their doings in that eventful year of grace 1648.§

* Sir E. Walker's *Perfect Copies of all the Votes, Letters, Proposals, and Answers relating to, and that passed in, the Treaty held at Newport (1705)*, p. 52; cf. pp. 22, 32.

† *Rushworth*, p. 1321.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 1337.

§ It should be noticed that the instructive struggle between the civil and military authorities for the control of the Tower, which I have described in the course of this paper, was paralleled in miniature at York, where, a few weeks after Fairfax had occupied, with his regular troops, the Tower of London (9th Aug., 1647), we read (13th Sept.) that "Major General Lambert hath written several times to the Lord Mayor of York for the admitting Major Carter, Governor of Clifford's Tower, and his company, (or 60 thereof), to be there; but the Mayor of York seems unwilling, standing upon other authority. . . . This night [? 11th Sept.] the Lord Mayor of York sent three gentlemen, viz., Mr. Blackbeard, the town clerk, and two others, to the Colonel-General, desiring there may be a fair Correspondency and right Understanding between them concerning the Business of Clifford's Tower, and inviting him to a dinner tomorrow. His Answer was to the first, he desired the same, and did nothing therein but in Prosecution of

The Numerical Principles of Ancient Gothic Art.

BY CLAPTON ROLFE.

PART II.

(Continued from page 153.)



HE first illustration (on p. 210) is a detail drawing, showing the north doorway of Shellingford church.

This is very different in design to the south doorway, but no less mystical and beautiful. In the design of the *single* jamb shaft and its *triple* moulded base, we may clearly see the influence of the numerical principle in question. The arch, as in the other example, has its *three* courses of voussoirs, as the jointing indicates. The outer one of these, the wide flat label, is especially worthy of notice. It is most simple, but withal cunningly designed, with *three* plain flat faces, A, B, C (see detail); while in one of them a shallow sinking is made to show *two* additional faces. The scholastic accuracy of the design, simple though it is, is not surpassed by any of the more ornate work of the middle ages. The *five* faces of the label ($3+2$) admirably symbolize the Divine Sacrifice.

The most noticeable feature of this arch is, however, the ornament of the *twelve* conventional beak heads around it. These are very well carved, and charmingly effective. They symbolize the Incarnation, though not with the scholastic accuracy of Riddell's work at Ely, or the work at Holyrood, of the same date. Still there can be no possible doubt that the play upon number twelve in

his Duty and Trust: to the second, that he would wait on his Lordship in the Morning, but the great Affairs he had in hand for the publick Service would not permit him to accept it" (*Rushworth*, pp. 808-9). It is amusing to observe that, in the same contingency, Fairfax had shown an equal dread of the seductive power of civic hospitality. On his sudden appearance with his troops at the Tower, he received an invitation from the Corporation, that he "would please to dine with them." He told them he would discuss it "at a Council of War," and, after this had been duly held, he "returned them a very loving and modest Answer, excusing his non-acceptance of that Invitation, by reason of the many great and weighty Affairs, in order to the settlement of the Peace of the Kingdom, the Army are at this time wholly taken up withal" (*Ib.* pp. 760-1-3).

this Shellingford doorway was intentional and not accidental. In proof of this, the neighbouring church at Charney, about four miles off, has another old doorway of about the same date. Its design is quite different to that of the Shellingford work, but it has

that the play upon the number was intentional. It is as though the one doorway was intended to respond to the other.

The second of our illustrations (Fig. 2, p. 211) shows the third of these Shellingford doorways, that to the chancel. Its base

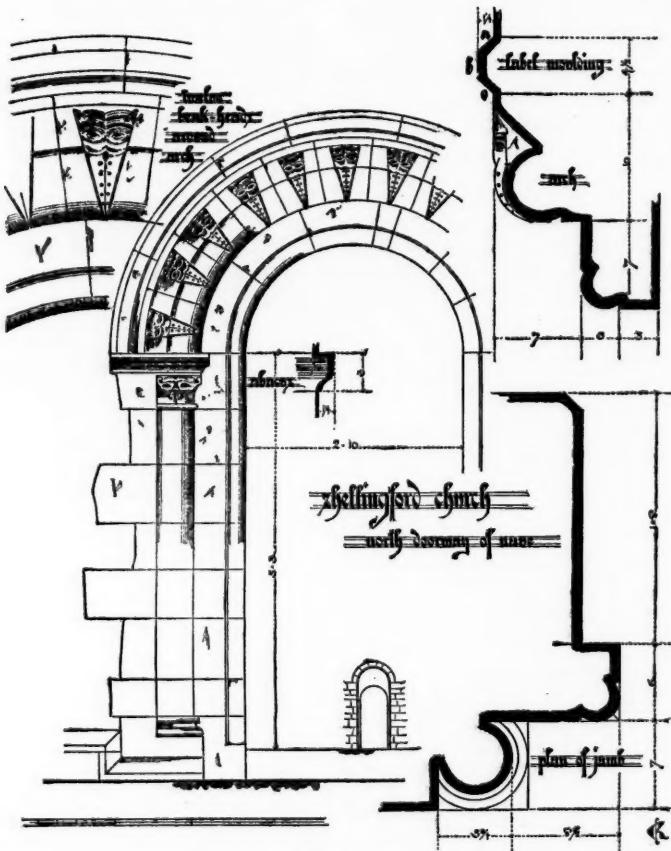


FIG. 1.

around its arch a somewhat similar carved ornament, consisting of twelve conventional heads, not beak-heads as in the Shellingford work, but the heads of some conventional animal. This repetition of the mystical number twelve in a totally different design, in a neighbouring doorway, is proof enough

moulding is hidden away under ground, so we cannot say what that is like. Its annulet of five moulded members corresponds to that of the south doorway before alluded to. The three courses of voussoirs forming the outer arch correspond also to those of the other two doorways; but the lower of them

in this example has a moulding of *three* members, E, F, G (see detail), instead of *one* member as in the other examples. The middle course of voussoirs has a chevron moulding differing in design to that of the south doorway, but still of *three* moulded members, A, B, C. The carving to this chevron is one of the chief features of the

plain. By this means the doctrine of grace is cunningly set forth. Gothic art abounds in irregularities of this sort. We are apt to admire them for their very quaintness, forgetful of the intense piety and devotion to the Catholic faith which originated and underlies them.

In conclusion, I will add a few words about our cathedral churches, to point out that the

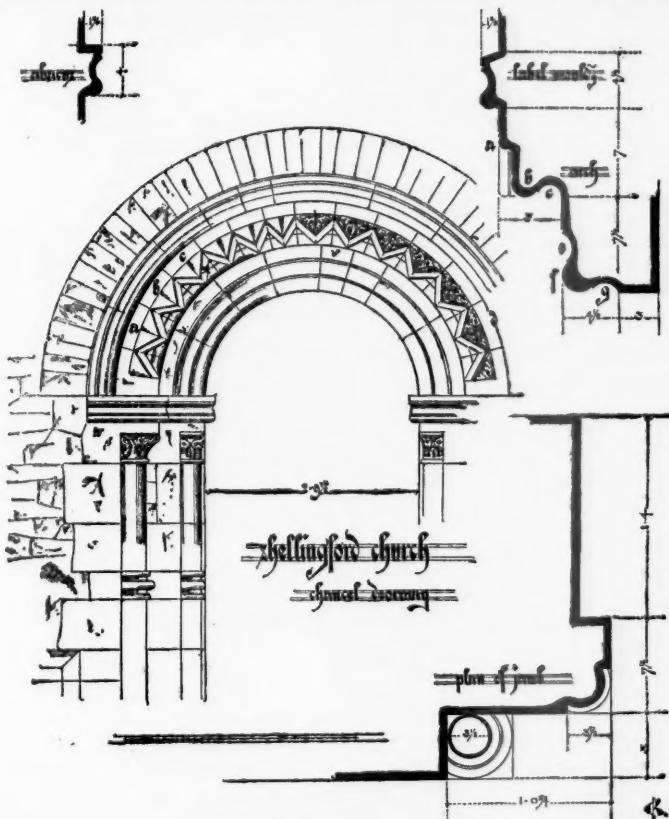


FIG. 2.

doorway. It will be seen from the drawing that half the arch is carved, and the other half left plain. There is a reason for this. Had all the spaces between the chevrons been carved there would have been fourteen carvings around the arch. To get over this and render the work symbolic, *seven* of these spaces are carved and *seven* (A, B, C) left

same numerical principle which influenced the design of small and out-of-the-way country churches influenced, in like degree, these larger and more important buildings.

Within a few years of the completion of the Shillingford doorways, a little later on in the twelfth century, William of Sens was at work rebuilding the choir of Canterbury Cathedral

after the fire. His work, like that just described, is transitional, though more advanced. In it the influence of the French school of art may be perceived, but over and above this, that of numerical principle.

In the design of the clerestory, which is some of William of Sens' work, the influence of numerical principle is very apparent, as also in the groined roof above. For example, the ribs and arches of the groining, which spring from each angle of the crossing, are conspicuously *five* in number, subdivided with scholastic accuracy into *3* (diagonal ribs) + *2* (transverse): then again, each of the three diagonal ribs is designed with *three* bold convex mouldings, and so on. The groin ribs and transverse arches of the choir are also designed to spring from the wall either *singly*, to typify the Unity, or in groups of *three*, to symbolize the Trinity of the Godhead, with excellent effect. This groined vault was one of the first, if not the first, constructed in England; and we may learn from it how great an influence numerical principle exercised in the working out of this distinctive feature of ancient Gothic art. The numbers played upon throughout are *one*, *three*, and *five*.

It was from this upper part of the choir that William of Sens fell and mortally injured himself. After his death, William the Englishman was chosen to carry on the work, and right well did he execute his commission. Good as is the later work of William of Sens, William the Englishman's far surpasses it. In the eastern transepts, and their apsidal chapels (the former of which is William of Sens' work, and the latter, I think, William the Englishman's), we may perceive the difference in point of merit in the work of the two masters. The design of these eastern transepts, which is undoubtedly William of Sens', as the Gallican base mouldings with their flattened lower member would of itself indicate, is hardly so good as that of the choir. The design of the apsidal chapels, on the other hand, is excellent; and just as the base mouldings of the transepts are indicative of the work being William of Sens', so those of the chapels (which agree with the base mouldings of Becket's crown) tend to prove that these adjuncts are the work of the mastermind of William the Englishman.*

* The round abacus also, a feature of William the

The general design of these apsidal chapels is truly excellent. The pier dividing those in the south transept should be noticed with its *five* shafts, whereof *three* are detached, and of Purbeck marble. The vaulting of the chapels is equally good. Each chapel is vaulted in *three* compartments, each detached rib designed of *three* bold convex mouldings, and each wall rib of *one*. So that from each abacus there springs a group of *five* convex mouldings, *3* + *2*. When we bear in mind that each chapel was erected solely to enshrine an altar for the celebration of the mysteries, the beauty and fitness of the design, which symbolizes with such scholastic accuracy the *Divine Sacrifice*, becomes the more apparent.

But of all the twelfth century work at Canterbury, that to Becket's crown, which is, and is acknowledged by all good authorities to be, the work of William the Englishman, surpasses all else. It was carried out *circa* 1180—1184. The grouping and detail of the lower windows, *five* in number, is well-nigh incomparable. The escoinston arches to these windows are particularly beautiful. Then again, the vaulting shafts, the moulded bases, the moulded annulets, the abaci to the vaulting shafts (which run up from floor to roof, at times appearing as *one* shaft and again as *three*), the beautiful groin ribs, and the wall arcades over the western arch *4* × *3* (the Incarnation)—all indicate how William the Englishman, in the true spirit of an ancient Gothic architect, strove to make his work worthy of God's sanctuary, to His glory, and the honour of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

In the thirteenth century these principles of ancient Gothic art reached their highest development. Some of the buildings carried out during this period, especially in the first half of the thirteenth century, are the purest specimens of Gothic art we possess. Those which as works of art are accounted of most merit, are the very buildings in which numerical principle is most apparent—proving that the highest aim of Gothic, and that moreover which has produced its noblest works of art, is to make the science of building subservient to the science of theology. The beautiful Cistercian work of Englishman's work in the crypt, which occurs to some of the piers of the apsidal chapels, would tend to prove that the restoration of these chapels is his work.

the period, that of Prior William de Hoo at Rochester, or again, that of Bishop Norwold at Ely, may well be described as the Catholic faith cunningly wrought in stone.* Norwold's work (1235–1252) is beautiful in the extreme.

From each wall shaft springs a group of seven noble ribs; and of these five are designed to support the main central ridge. There are five bosses to each bay of the vaulting along the main ridge from east to west, and three to each transverse ridge from north to south. Then again, each of the seven ribs appears to have three bold convex mouldings which die away into one another, with admirable effect, at the springing. Ecclesiastically speaking, the art of Gothic vaulting might well have stopped at this stage of its development. It had advanced from one rib to three, from three to five, from five to seven. Here it might well have stopped; for further development beyond seven only led to decline.†

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries numerical principle began to decline. The science of building religiously gave way little by little during this period, and beauty rather than truth became the chief thing aimed at. As a natural consequence art declined. So much so, that by the sixteenth century, when numerical principle was well-nigh lost sight of altogether, Gothic art in this country became a parody and a ruin. It was devotion to the principle which matured and

* "Scarcely a single parish throughout this land, but what holds an old church, built by Catholic hands, for Catholic worship; many of our towns can boast of a fine old minster, and each of our cities has its old cathedral: parish church, minster, cathedral, are so many Catholic creeds cut in stone."—*Church of our Fathers*, vol. i., p. 342.

† The lierne vaulting of De Lisle's three western bays of the choir (circa 1345–1362), where the seven ribs are exceeded, is not nearly so effective or good as Norwold's vaulting to the eastern bays. And as in art there should not be development beyond seven, so in ritual worship. A rubric of the Sarum missal says, "More than seven collects are never to be said." Mr. Chambers also, alluding to the cautels of the mass gathered from ancient English Missalia, says: "In repeating the collects let the uneven number always be observed: One, because of the Unity of the Deity; Three, because of the Trinity of Persons; Five, because of the fivefold Passion of Christ; Seven, because of the sevenfold grace of the Holy Spirit. The number of seven must not be exceeded."—*Divine Worship in England*, p. 299.

perfected Gothic art, and the neglect of it which debased and ruined it. Art in the later mediæval period followed in the wake of other things; it became less pure, less religious, so to speak; the precept of St. Thomas Aquinas was forgotten, men sought to build with artistic skill rather than with devotional cunning.

Still, in this later Gothic work, especially in that of the fourteenth and early part of the fifteenth century, there is much that is strictly upon the old lines; work as good, or almost so, as any that had gone before. Such, for example, is the Canterbury nave (circa 1378–1411), which is very beautiful, and full of symbolism, though so late. Or again, William of Wykeham's nave at Winchester, which is perhaps more replete with symbolism than any other work of the fourteenth century. But is it surprising that it is so; that the *Divine Sacrifice* is so indelibly impressed upon the design, when we bear in mind that Wykeham in his youth at 5 a.m. each morning knelt at mass on the very spot where his magnificent tomb and chantry now stand? He was a pious Churchman, with the true spirit of an ancient Gothic architect in him; hence his work at Winchester is such a pure specimen of the Gothic art of that age; his chantry chapel the most beautiful in all England.*

I turn once again to Rome. Allusion has already been made to ancient St. Peter's at Rome, the basilican church erected by Constantine in the fourth century, and to its symbolic design. The great and comparatively modern church of St. Peter, erected in the fifteenth century, now occupies its site. In the Bodleian Library there is a fine copy of Fontana's work, *Il Tempio Vaticano*, which elaborately illustrates this latter building. I have looked very carefully through the plates of the work to try and discover traces of the old numerical principle of Christian art in its design. It cannot be

* "This (chantry) chapel, to which Wykeham refers in his will, was built by him on the site of an altar dedicated to the Virgin, his especial patroness, the mass at which he had always been accustomed to attend when a boy at school, and which stood, it is said, 'in that part of the cross precisely which corresponded with the pierced side of the Saviour.' The design of Wykeham's chantry is very beautiful."—Murray's *Handbook to the Cathedrals of England*.

found in any appreciable degree. The design is wholly pagan; though but a parody upon ancient classic pagan art, as many of its details indicate.* Setting aside the traditions of the ancient Church of Rome—of the Romanesque, the Byzantine, and the Gothic schools of art—ignoring those grand old principles of ancient Christian art by which the builders of Christendom had worked out the problem of rendering the science of building subservient to the faith—the Roman Catholics of that day in re-erecting St. Peter's deliberately returned to the pagan art of ancient pagan Rome. History is said to repeat itself; it has indeed repeated itself in the cycle of the arts at Rome.



The Nevills of Raby and their Alliances.

BY C. STANILAND WAKE.

PART III.

FT was stated above that Margaret, the daughter of Ralph, Lord Nevill, in the reign of Edward III., on the death of her husband, William de Ros, married Henry, Lord Percy. The arms of this baron, who was created Earl of Northumberland, are those referred to by Dodsworth as *a lion rampant azure*. By her second marriage Margaret† had three sons, Henry, Thomas, and Ralph. Her eldest son, Henry, the valiant Harry Hotspur, who lost his life at the battle of Shrewsbury in his father's lifetime, had married Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, by whom he left issue a son, Henry, and a daughter, Elizabeth. This daughter married John, Lord Clifford, and afterwards Ralph Nevill, the second Earl of Westmorland, while her brother Henry, who was restored to the earldom of Northumberland, married Eleanor, daughter of Ralph

* See base mouldings and other details upon folio 299 of Fontana's work.

† On her death in 14 Edward III. the Earl of Northumberland took to wife Maud, the daughter and heir of Anthony, Lord Lucy, widow of Gilbert de Umfraville, Earl of Angus.

Nevill, the first Earl of Westmorland. Henry Percy lost his life at the battle of St. Albans in 33 Henry VI., having had by his wife nine sons and two daughters. His descendant Sir Henry Percy was in 18 Elizabeth summoned to parliament as Earl of Northumberland. He married Catherine, the eldest daughter and coheir of John Nevill, Lord Latimer, and being imprisoned in the Tower upon suspicion of conspiring to rescue Mary, Queen of Scots, was, in 28 Elizabeth, found dead in his bed, having been killed by a pistol shot in his side.

The Gilbert de Umfravill whose widow, Maud, married Henry, Lord Percy, was descended from Robert de Umfravill, Lord of Toures, otherwise called "Robert with the Beard," a kinsman of William the Conqueror, who made him a grant of the lordship, valley, and forest of Riddesdale, in Northumberland. Gilbert was constituted, in 20 Edward I., governor of the castles of Dundee and Forfar, and of the whole territory of Anagos, in Scotland, and in 25 Edward I. he was summoned to parliament by the title of Earl of Angus, his mother being the daughter and heir of Malcolm, Earl of Angus, at which time, says Dugdale,

our lawyers of England were somewhat startled, and refused in their breves and instruments to acknowledge him Earl, by reason that Angus was not within the kingdom of England, until he had openly produced the king's writ and warrant in face of the court.

The arms of Angus mentioned by Dodsworth, are those of Umfraville as given by Edmondson, *gu, a cinquefoil ar, within an orle of eight crosslets or*. There does not appear to have been any direct connection between the Nevills and that family, but Henry, Lord Percy, the first Earl of Northumberland, who married Maud, the widow of Gilbert de Umfraville, third Earl of Angus, had had for his first wife Margaret, daughter of Ralph, Lord Nevill. In 14 Edward III. Gilbert de Umfraville was joined in commission with Henry, Lord Percy, and Ralph, Lord Nevill, to treat and conclude a truce with the Scots, and in 26 Edward III., "upon some apprehension of an invasion by the French," he was again put in commission with the same lords "for the arming and arraying of all Knights, Esquires, and others in the County

of Northumberland, for the defence of those parts." That earl of Angus died in 4 Richard II. without leaving any issue, his son Robert, who had married Margaret, daughter of Henry, Lord Percy, Earl of Northumberland, having predeceased him and died childless.

Of the persons mentioned in Dodsworth's list there remains now to be referred to only the Seigneur de Segrave. It has already been shown that in Edward III.'s reign John, Lord Mowbray, married Elizabeth, the daughter and heir of John, Lord Segrave. The mother of this lady was Margaret, daughter and heir of Thomas of Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk, whose daughter Alice married Edward de Montacute. The grandfather of John, Lord Segrave, also called John, was a man of great note in the reigns of Edwards I. and II. After the siege of Caerlaverok, in 3 Edward I., he was left in Scotland as the King's Lieutenant, and in 2 Edward II. he was appointed Warden of all Scotland. Dying in Gascony in 18 Edward II., and his eldest son, Stephen, being then dead, he was succeeded by his grandson, the John, Lord Segrave, who married the daughter of Thomas of Brotherton. This baron died in 27 Edward III., leaving one child, Elizabeth, then the wife of John, Lord Mowbray, by whom she had issue John, the fourth Lord Mowbray, created Earl of Nottingham, who died childless, and Thomas, Lord Mowbray, who was created Duke of Norfolk by Richard II. The barony of Segrave appears to have descended to the Mowbrays; as John, Lord Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, who died in 1 Edward IV., as well as his son and successor John, Lord Mowbray, who died fourteen years afterwards, bore the title of Lord Segrave. The arms of Segrave as given by Edmondson are *Sa, a lion rampant arg. crowned or a bend gules*, and these are the arms mentioned by Dodsworth.

We have now to consider whether it can be ascertained by whom and at what period the armorial windows in the choir of Cotttingham Church were introduced. Dr. Whitaker, in his *History of Richmondshire*, refers to the existence of various armorial bearings in the windows of the principal choir of the church at Well, in the North Riding of the county of York, among which are those of the Nevills of Raby, Sir Henry de Percy,

and Lord de Ros. The manor of Well descended to Elizabeth, daughter and heir of William, Lord Latimer, of Danby, who married John Nevill, younger son of Ralph, Lord Nevill of Raby. John, Lord Latimer, the son and successor of that John Nevill, died without issue, and his brother and heir Ralph, Earl of Northumberland, settled the inherited estates on his son, George Nevill, who had thereupon the title of Lord Latimer. The last Lord Latimer of this family, John Nevill, who died in 20 Elizabeth, A.D. 1577, was buried at Well, and a monument to him was in the year 1596 erected in the church there. The monument consists of a cumbent figure in armour, surrounded by the different armorial bearings to which Lord Latimer was entitled. The shield over the inscription bears the arms of Nevill, with seventeen other quarterings. Several of these quarterings, as Beauchamp, Warwick, Vere, and Stafford, were also in the windows of Cotttingham Church, but the arms of Nevill are different. The Nevill silver saltire in Well Church is charged with an annulet, which is the distinguishing mark of George Nevill, Lord Latimer, as the fifth son.

The monument to John Nevill, the last Lord Latimer, in the church at Well, was erected by Thomas Cecil, Earl of Exeter, who married Dorothy, one of the daughters and coheirs of that nobleman. Is it possible that the armorial windows of Cotttingham Church were also put up by him? The date would answer well enough, seeing that Dodsworth appears to have visited Cotttingham in 1620, that is only twenty-four years after the erection of the monument to Lord Latimer by the Earl of Exeter, and he does not speak of them as ancient. To justify that assumption, however, it should be shown that this nobleman was connected in some way with Cotttingham. It is not difficult to do this, although there is no evidence that he or his wife had any possessions there. On the death without issue in 1408 of Edmund Holland Earl of Kent, the original manor of Cotttingham was divided among his four surviving sisters, the daughters of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent. It has long been subdivided into four manors, known as *Cotttingham Powis with Baynard Castle, Cotttingham Richmond, Cotttingham Sarum, and Cotttingham Westmoreland*, which

were apparently named after the husbands of the coheiresses or of their female descendants. We have already had occasion to mention that John de Nevill, the eldest son of the first Earl of Westmorland, married Elizabeth, the youngest daughter of Thomas Holland, and one of the coheirs of Edmund Holland, the last Earl of Kent of that family. Alianore, the fourth daughter of Thomas Holland, married Thomas de Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, whose daughter Alice became the wife of Richard Nevill, the eldest son of that earl of Westmorland by his wife Joane. Two of the Nevills of Raby thus became interested in the manor of Cottingham in right of their wives. After the death of the Earl of Salisbury at the battle of Wakefield in 1460, his estates were forfeited, but the forfeiture would not apply to the estates belonging to his wife, which probably descended to her son Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury, better known as Earl of Warwick. As before mentioned, this earl had two daughters, Isabel and Anne, both of whom married sons of Richard Mortimer, Duke of York. Isabel married George, Duke of Clarence, and Anne Richard, Duke of Gloucester. On the death of the Earl of Warwick at the battle of Barnet Field in 1471, Edward IV. bestowed the title of Earl of Warwick and Salisbury on his brother, the Duke of Clarence. The Duke of Gloucester, however, in 11 Edward IV. obtained a grant in special tail "of all the lordships, manors, and lands, which Richard Nevill, late Earl of Warwick, or the heirs male of his body, or any of his ancestors whose heir male he was, held." Richard thus became entitled to one share of the manor of Cottingham, and a few years later, in 1475, Edward IV., by authority of parliament, transferred to his brother, in exchange for certain lordships in Yorkshire, the share of that manor belonging to him as the heir-at-law of their father Richard, Duke of York, with the advowson of the church and other lands. The Duke of Gloucester thus became the owner of two divisions of the manor of Cottingham, and in 17 Edward IV. his son Edward was created Earl of Salisbury, with which title the manor of Cottingham Sarum would seem to have been somehow connected. Edward, Earl of Salis-

bury, died in the lifetime of his father, Richard III., on whose death this manor probably went to Edward, Earl of Warwick, the son of George, Duke of Clarence, and his wife Isabel; who was beheaded in 15 Henry VII., and attainted four years afterwards. His sister Margaret had married Sir Richard Pole, and on the death of her husband she petitioned to be permitted, as sister and heir in blood of Edward, Earl of Warwick, to assume the title of Countess of Salisbury. This permission was granted, and in 5 Henry VIII. she obtained letters patent "for all the Castles, Mannors, and Lands of Richard, late Earl of Salisbury, her Grandfather, which came to the Crown, by the attainder of the same Edward, Earl of Warwick, her brother."

Leland the antiquary, who visited Cottingham about 1538, wrote: "The lands of this Signorie and Lordship greatly privileged cam of later times by division into four partes, whereof now a late the King had one parte, the Countess of Soresby another, the Earl of Westmoreland the three, and the Lord Poys the four; at this tyme the King hath all saving the Lord Poys part." The manor of Cottingham Powis was probably that portion of the original manor which Richard, Duke of Gloucester, obtained by exchange from Edward IV. Alianore, the eldest daughter of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, from whom those princes were descended, married for her second husband Edward de Chelton, Lord Powys, and possibly on the death of Richard III. the manor of Cottingham Powis reverted to the Crown, and afterwards came into the possession of Leland's Lord Poys. This was doubtless Edward Grey, Lord Powis, who married a daughter of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and died without issue some time after 36 Henry VIII.* The manor of Cottingham Richmond came to Henry VIII. from his father, to whom it had descended from Margaret, the third daughter of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent. Whether the king had then the manor of Cottingham Westmoreland, as stated by

* Sir Richard Grey, Lord Powis, who died in 6 Edward IV., had lands in Cottingham and Hessle, particulars of which are given by Dugdale, but they could hardly have belonged to the manor of Cottingham Powis.

Leland it is not necessary to inquire.* As to the manor of Cottingham Sarum, it appears that in 31 Henry VIII. the Countess of Salisbury, then seventy years of age, was attainted for treason, "under colours of complyance with the Marquess of Exeter," and was beheaded two years afterwards, in 1541. Her eldest son, Henry, who in 13 Henry VIII. had received the title of Lord Montague, had been beheaded three years before also for conspiring with the Marquess of Exeter. He left by his wife Jane, the daughter of George Nevill, Lord Bergavenny, two daughters, Katherine, married to Francis, Earl of Huntingdon, and Winifride, married first to Sir Thomas Hastings, and afterwards to Sir Thomas Barington.†

The Marquess of Exeter above referred to was cousin german of Henry VIII., being, as mentioned at a preceding page, the son and heir of William Courtney, Earl of Devon, by Katherine, daughter of Edward IV. He was beheaded in 1538, at the same time as Henry, Lord Montague, and with them Sir Edward Nevill. The title of Duke of Exeter was held previously by Henry Holland, who had married Anne, sister of Edward IV., and whose father, John Holland, was created Duke of Exeter by Henry VI. This duke married for his second wife Anne, daughter of John Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, and by her had issue a daughter, Anne. This daughter married first John, Lord Nevill, Earl of Westmorland, and secondly Sir Thomas de Nevill, by whom she had a son, Ralph de Nevill, the third Earl of Westmorland. The families who bore the titles of Exeter and Salisbury were thus closely united with each other, and no less so with the Nevills. It is not surprising, therefore, that Thomas Cecil, the eldest son of Lord Burghley, who married Dorothy, one of the daughters and heirs of John Nevill, Lord Latimer, should have chosen to be created Earl of Exeter. Probably Robert Cecil, Lord Burghley's son by his second wife, took the title of Earl of Salisbury for a similar reason. His wife was the daughter

* It may be mentioned that Charles Nevill, the last Earl of Westmorland, was attainted in 13 Elizabeth.

† The manor of Cottingham Sarum appears to have at one time belonged to the Barringtons.

of William Brooke, Lord Cobham, who appears to have married a daughter of George Nevill, Lord Bergavenny, and he may well, therefore, have aspired to a title so intimately associated with the Nevills as that of Earl of Salisbury. This great statesman, who died in 1612, may have wished not only to celebrate his alliance with the ancient and noble family of Nevill, but also to compare his dignity and power with theirs by erecting a monument in their memory. If it was intended also to show their alliance with the Hollands, Earls of Kent, that could not have been done better than by the erection of the armorial windows in the church of Cottingham, with which the Hollands and the Nevills had been so closely connected. I am inclined to think that the windows in question were due to Robert Cecil rather than to Thomas Cecil, who, curiously enough, was created by James I. Earl of Exeter on the evening of the same day, in 1605, as that on which his brother was created Earl of Salisbury. If, however, it is preferred that they should be ascribed to Thomas Cecil, a motive for their erection by him might perhaps be found in the fact that in 27 Henry VI. John, Lord Nevill, Earl of Westmorland, who had married the daughter of John Holland, Earl of Exeter, directed his body to be buried in the choir of the abbey of Haut-Emprice, which was situate in the parish of Cottingham. On the dissolution of the monasteries the abbey went to decay, and the choir of Cottingham Church may possibly have been intended to take its place as a memorial of the Nevills, and of the great families with whom they were allied.



Reviews.

The History of Bicester, its Town and Priory. Part II. The History of Bicester. Compiled by REV. J. C. BLOMEFIELD, M.A. (Bicester, 1884 : Smith & Parkhurst.) 4to, pp. 212.



E have already expressed our approval of Mr. Blomefield's first instalment of his *History of Bicester* (see *ante*, vol. v., p. 262), and it is now our pleasing duty to say that this second part is equally interesting and valuable. Mr. Blomefield goes upon the prin-

ciple that facts are worth any quantity of theories, and his book accordingly abounds in facts gathered with the most assiduous care from the local sources of information. No one, not being a local historian, could have placed such a storehouse of information before the student, and we can assure our readers that in matters of early social and agricultural history, this book will be found to contain some curious points. Gilbert Bassett, younger son of Ralph Bassett, Baron of Weldon, married into the De Oily family, and obtained a grant of some of the lands held by Robert of Oily. Gilbert Bassett built a house as a residence for himself, where he resided for more than half a century. Taking an active part in favour of Maud against King Stephen, he was rewarded by Henry II. with a charter granting vast privileges and immunities. Some of Gilbert Bassett's work in the chancel and central tower of the church still remains as a testimony of his piety, his wealth, and his bounty. This family held the manor for a century, and it passed at the death of Gilbert Bassett, in 1203, to his wife, Egeline de Courtenay, of the Devonshire family. From this time many different owners possessed the manor. Mr. Blomefield devotes sections to the parish church, which dates from the twelfth century, to the parish charities, and to the Priory of St. Edburg. The parish registers and terriers of land are all laid under contribution in a most admirable manner, and many important glimpses are afforded of village life in olden days, with its curious land tenure. A terrier of 1399 gives an exact description of the names and divisions of the land surrounding the village, and we get notice of the curious ends or small pieces of arable land, called "Buttes," and other characteristic features of the village community. Of the Priory Mr. Blomefield gives an exhaustive and valuable description, accompanied by a plan. Connected with this are many documents of great interest and instruction, such, for instance, as that of the "Receipts at the Bursary," and payments corresponding. As a record of prices paid for labour, corn, travelling, wine, building, and other expenses, this portion of the book will be found of great value, and we trust that Mr. Blomefield, before he ends his labours, will give us a full and exhaustive index to these documents. Of course there are many points which we cannot now touch upon, and which may perhaps be of still more importance to some of our readers than those mentioned above, but we heartily congratulate the author upon his conscientious and admirable piece of work.

Jottings on the Royal Coinage and Token Currency of Guildford, with some Notes on the Etymology of the Name of the Town. By GEORGE C. WILLIAMSON. 8vo, pp. 36.

All antiquaries understand the importance of such local contributions as this, and we can add our testimony to the fact that the execution of the work does not discredit the subject. The coins range from Ethelred II. in 978 to William II. in 1100, and the author has given an exact description of each coin, from the inscriptions on which much information is obtained as to the spelling of the town's name. The

tokens range from 1648 to 1673. As to the issues of these tokens and their local importance, some interesting information is given, and the whole essay is one which many, who are not strictly local inquirers, will be glad to possess. We recommend it to those who are interested in place-names and their spellings, as Mr. Williamson has pointed out a very valuable source of information for this very much needed study.

A Booke of Fishing with Hooke and Line made by L(eonard) M(ascall). Reprinted from the Edition of 1590. With Preface and Glossary by T. SATCHELL. W. Satchell & Co. (Simpkin, Marshall, & Co.)

It was a stern and troublous time in England when Dame Juliana Berners first committed her *Treatyse of Fysshynge* to the press,—stern and troublous in the sense of that perpetual unrest inevitable in a country the bases of whose civilization were still unsettled and insecure. The writers of the Paston letters, speaking of the close of the fifteenth century, style it a "quavering" and "queasy" time, as if they felt all things to be giddy and reeling around them; and MacFarlane dilates on the fact that in England, at that period, human life "was evidently rated at a very low value, the constant risks to which it was exposed reducing its real worth, and the mere habit of seeing it constantly perilled and so often suddenly lost helping still further to make its extinction by violence or otherwise regarded with a deficiency of concern of which in the present day we have no conception." And yet this was "Merry England," for, says Froude, "we read of merry England when England was not merry,"—when justice was arbitrary and ignorant, when the people groaned under the exercise of feudal tyranny, and when for a man to possess his soul in quietness was at once the greatest of blessings and the most arduous of attainments.

We should have liked to bring before our readers a full and faithful picture of the rustic life and sports of this epoch, but the colours fail us; even the outline is blurred and broken. The old contemporary chroniclers and historians are rich indeed in records of the grand and stirring events of the century,—the struggles of dynasties, the pomp and splendour of courts, records of battles and sieges, of the surrender of towns, of triumphal entries; but to the wide, silent country places beyond, to the illimitable fields and forests, and to the lives and occupations of their denizens, they gave no heed. That men hunted and hawked and fished in those days, we know; but under what peculiar circumstances we are left to guess. One thing, as regards angling, however, we consider certain, that it cannot have been, at the close of the fifteenth century, the "contemplative recreation" it afterwards became. Piscator of that ilk plied a craft associated as much with peril as with pleasure: he can have had little vocation to stretch his limbs under honeysuckle hedges and discourse of nightingales' ditties to vagabond viators and venerators. From this point of view we confess our surprise at the pacific aspect and accoutrement of the typical

angler of his time, such as Dame Juliana (not heroically) brings before us. Surely the Dame must have chosen for model some fisher of the towns,—some cockney gudgeon-fisher, in his homely jerkin, and with his wife's kitchen tub for creel. The grotesque and left-handed creature of the *Treatyse* can never have tested the "twelve flies," in Tyne or Coquet, much less in Tweed, with King James hovering hawk-like over the border, and all his "blue bonnets" ready for a raid on the Northumbrian beesees. We should ourselves have depicted the mediæval angler with more military adjuncts, with a weapon of offence in his girdle and an arquebus peeping over his shoulder above his creel.

Of Leonard Mascall's *Booke of Fishing with Hooke and Line* it may be said that the dry bones of the ancient treatise are revived in it, with other "disjecta membra," but not the living spirit. Dame Juliana's picturesque and harmonious phrase is silent in its pages, and for her high code of sporting morality we seek in vain,—an observation which applies, in a like degree, to Gryndall's subsequent pamphlet and to the *Jewel for Gentry*. These are essentially practical. They have little merit beyond. Mr. Thomas Satchell, however, has enriched his reprint of Leonard Mascall with an able and interesting Introduction and an excellent Glossary. The series to which this work belongs—the "Library of old Fishing Books"—is a boon to modern collectors that cannot be too highly appreciated. A quarter of a century ago all the piscatorial book-rarities were attainable, with reasonable patience and a moderate expenditure. Now we have America in the market,—America, with a full purse and a dominant purpose—and too many of our Mascalls, Gryndalls, and *Jewels for Gentry*, have already taken wing across the Atlantic, to return, we fear, no more.

Mr. Satchell's "Library" is, no doubt, intended to fill this void, and to bring within reach of the collectors, in an engaging form and under conscientious supervision, the works they can no longer hope to acquire in their original form. From this point of view the undertaking has our best wishes for its success.

Surrey Bells and London Bell Founders. A Contribution to the Comparative Study of Bell Inscriptions.
By J. C. L. Stahlischmidt. (London : Elliot Stock, 1884.) 4to, with woodcuts.

This interesting and conscientious volume, of which we could sometimes desire the style and arrangement a little more lucid, appears to have owed its existence to the suggestion of the author's friend, the late Mr. North, whose name will be favourably known to our readers as that of an indefatigable enthusiast in the field of campanology. We think we may fairly recommend the latest publication in this class of inquiry as worthy to take a place by the side of the monographs which have preceded it. In one respect, the account which it gives us of the Bell-founders of London of the 13th and 14th centuries, it breaks new ground, and the researches of the compiler have led to some very interesting discoveries. Surrey possesses its fair share of interesting bells, and

the illustrations which this book contains are both good and curious. Each town is dealt with separately, and the author is minute in his descriptions and particulars.

The whole subject of bells, both in their civil and in their ecclesiastical uses, deserves the attention of some future antiquary. Prior to the general introduction of clocks, the bell played a much more important part in our daily life than we can at first sight believe to have been possible. It was the universal timekeeper and summoner, and it is a point deserving of careful investigation whether its employment as a factor in the early social system did not precede its adoption by the Church, first for the mere purpose of announcing the hour of prayer or devotion, and subsequently as a moral and religious agency. As chanticleer was the only clock of the primitive villager, the bell was long the only machinery for marking the divisions of the monastic day. The origin of the consecration and enshrinement of bells is of considerable interest, but we should also welcome any important and authentic light shed on its former political significances and domestic application. It is of those things which already half belong to the past, perhaps in all its purposes, certainly in its ecclesiastical; for while horology was in its nonage, and places of worship were filled by more scattered congregations, the bell became and remained a valuable auxiliary, whereas at present it seems to be somewhat of an anachronism.

The most ancient bell which we can recollect to have seen depicted is one which occurs at page 213 of *Les Arts du Moyen Age*, by Lacroix, 1869. It is a hand-bell or *tintinnabulum*, ascribed to the ninth century, and copied from a MS.

Phallicism, celestial and terrestrial, heathen and Christian, its connection with the Rosicrucians and the Gnostics, and its foundation in Buddhism, with an Essay on Mystic Anatomy. By HARGRAVE JENNINGS. (London, 1884 : George Redway.) 8vo, pp. xxvii, 298.

Unpleasant as this subject is, we are quite prepared to agree that in its scientific aspect, as a form of human worship, it has considerable importance, and we endorse Mr. Jennings' idea that it is not among the lowest of mankind that one must look for an explanation or history of it. At the same time we are not quite sure that we follow Mr. Jennings in all his learned disquisitions upon the subject. We think he is too much inclined to look for allegory and poetry where nothing but sheer fact and prose were originally intended, and this tendency, especially upon such a subject, leads the author far afield. Unlike Messrs. Westropp and Wake, in their book on *Ancient Symbolism in Worship*, Mr. Jennings deals almost entirely with the subjective part of his inquiry, and he has evidently made a considerable amount of research into the literature of early religions. Into the details of Mr. Jennings' book we cannot be expected to enter; but we may say that he has produced something which is, at all events, worth the attention of the student of comparative psychology, and we may add that we should have enjoyed his writing better had there been fewer notes of admiration !

MEETINGS OF ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETIES.

The Essex Notebook and Suffolk Gleaner. (Colchester, 1884 : Benham & Co.) 4to, pp. 12.

We welcome with cordial sympathy this fresh gleaner of local facts. It consists of reprints of the local Notes and Queries of the *Essex Standard*, and the editor has evidently put into his labours a great amount of judicial enthusiasm. There are a great number of small notes about matters always of value to the curious inquirer, and the collection of Essex Tenures promises to be more than ordinarily interesting. Field names is another subject we are glad to see taken up, as in this direction local inquiry can achieve results that cannot be attempted otherwise.



Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

Royal Archaeological Institute (see *ante*, page 174).—In the evening Canon Creighton opened the Historical Section with a singularly able lecture. The Antiquarian Section was subsequently opened by Dr. Bruce, who chose for the subject of his address "The Roman Occupation of Britain." On Wednesday morning Warkworth Castle and Alnwick Abbey were visited. Extensive excavations on the site of the abbey are in progress, and the foundations of the chapter-house and the cloister have been laid bare. Alnwick was afterwards visited. In the evening Canon Raine opened the Historical Section. Thursday's excursion to Holy Island proved to be of great interest. After an inspection of the ruins, the Dean of Chester delivered an interesting address on St. Aidan and King Oswald, and their connection with the site. The Rev. J. L. Low followed with some observations on the life of St. Cuthbert, who was sixth bishop of Lindisfarne. After lunch Mr. Micklithwaite described the ruins. The church consists of a nave with aisles and western towers, much resembling Durham in miniature, aisleless transepts with eastern apses, central tower, and aisleless choir. In the floor of the choir are exposed the foundations of the original apse, which Mr. C. Clement Hodges pronounced, with much show of probability, to be pre-Norman, though the rest of the building is early twelfth century. The conventional buildings are now represented by huge mounds and fragments of walls ; but as a result of the visit of the Institute it is satisfactory to know they are to be excavated shortly by Sir William Crossman. On Friday Bamborough Castle was visited. It is a fine and large example of the Norman square keep, but as it is inhabited, it is difficult to make out its internal arrangements. It is its magnificent position on the summit of a lofty rock overlooking the German Ocean that makes Bamborough so famous. After lunch the antiquaries visited the church, which is a very interesting building, having a large Early English chancel, with a wall arcade like that of Cherry Hinton, and a bone crypt under the east end. The meeting of the Architectural Section in the evening was distinguished by the first part of a lecture "On the Peles

of Northumberland," illustrated by limelight lantern views, and described by Mr. C. J. Bates. In the Antiquarian Section the Rev. C. F. Browne read a paper of great interest and research "On the Fragments of Sculptured Stones at Monkwearmouth and Jarrow." The annual meeting was held on Saturday morning, under the presidency of Earl Percy, M.P. The excursions were divided into two. The first, under the direction of Mr. Gosselin, proceeded to Ravensworth Castle, where the building was described by Mr. W. H. D. Longstaffe. The other party, under the direction of Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, journeyed to Monkwearmouth. Jarrow was the next meeting-place, and here again the church retains very considerable remains of the work of Benedict Biscop in the chancel and other parts. The tower is of Anglo-Saxon work, though erected, like some of the Lincoln churches, in the Norman period. Some remains exist of the Norman conventional buildings. The day's excursion wound up with a trip down the Tyne in a steamer, kindly furnished by the River Tyne Commissioners, to Tynemouth Priory. At the sectional meetings in the evening papers were read by the Rev. J. R. Boyle "On the Saxon Churches of Northumberland and Durham," and by Mr. H. S. Skipton "On Streatham : its Horses and its Heroes." A lecture was also given by Dr. Bruce "On the Northumberland Small Pipes," with musical illustrations, which was listened to with great attention. On Monday the Association visited the Roman Wall, under the guidance of Dr. Bruce. In the Antiquarian Section in the evening the Rev. G. R. Hall read a paper "On the British Remains in Northumberland," and Mr. R. P. Pullan one "On the Discoveries at Lanuvium." In the Architectural Section Mr. C. J. Bates resumed his paper "On a General View of the Medieval Castles, Towers, etc., in Northumberland," and Mr. St. John Hope read a paper "On Recent Excavations on the Site of Alnwick Abbey." On Tuesday an excursion was made to Prudhoe and Corbridge. Mr. Clark gave a slight sketch of the Umfreville family, to whom Prudhoe Castle belonged, and described the ruin. Ovingham parish church, chiefly interesting to the archaeologist on account of its tower, was also visited. At Bywell the party were received by Canon Dwarris, who delivered a brief address on the history of the churches of Bywell St. Andrew's and Bywell St. Peter's, which are separated only by the roadway. A visit was next paid to the remains of the unfinished castle of Bywell, ascribed to Robert Nevil, Earl of Westmorland, in 1480, and built on the site of the older tower of Balliol. At Corbridge the parish church of St. Andrew was visited. Mr. Longstaffe gave a brief sketch of the history of Corbridge, and Mr. Hodges explained the architecture of the church. The last place visited was Aydon Castle. It is a fair specimen of the fortified residences to be found in Northumberland. In the evening the general meeting was held. On Wednesday the archaeologists visited Brancepeth Castle and Durham.

Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society.—The members paid an interesting and pleasant visit to Melton Constable and Hindolveston. A short ride brought the party to Melton Constable church, or rather to the "shell" of the sacred building, which, with dismantled roof, fittings removed, and floors up,

was in the earliest stage of rebuilding and restoration. Some interesting particulars respecting the church and the parish were contained in a paper kindly contributed by the Rev. C. R. Manning. There was a church at Melton at the time of the Conqueror's Survey, but whether any part of it remains in the construction of the existing walls it is impossible to say. There is no appearance of any work earlier than the twelfth century. The lordship of the parish was granted, with others, at the Conquest, to William de Beaufo, Bishop of Thetford, and was held under him by Roger de Lyons and Anschetel the provost. The descendants of this Anschetel called themselves "De Melton," and held the hereditary office of *Constable* to the Bishops after the removal of the see to Norwich. Hence the parish was called Melton Constable. In 1165 Peter le Constable de Meaulton held it; and in 1202 to 1204 Peter Constable de Meaulton was Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk. The names of his son Geoffrey and his son Peter de Meaulton, *Constabularius*, occur in deeds mentioned by Blomefield, with the seal of a man in armour on horseback. This Peter had a son, another Geoffrey (or Ralph according to some authorities), who left three sisters, coheiresses, of whom Edith married Sir Thomas Astley, Lord Astley, of the Warwickshire family, and brought part of the inheritance of the De Meltons in the family of Astley. This Thomas Lord Astley was killed at the battle of Evesham, in 1265. He bore arms, azure, a cinquefoil Ermine, in allusion to those of Robert de Beaumont, Earl of Leicester, of whom the family held lordships; those of Beaumont being *gules*, a cinquefoil Ermine; and the same arms are now borne, differenced by a border engrailed, by the family of Astley, Lord of Hastings, who are descended from him through female heirs. On the south side is a curious example of a "low side" or "lepers" window, with not only a recess at the west side for a seat, but a stone book-desk fronting it. This Mr. Manning believes to be unique. Another most remarkable feature in the church is that above the plain circular chancel arch, or rather arch of the tower towards the nave, is another double arch of Norman work, supported in the centre by a stout circular pillar. Mr. Manning cannot recall any other instance of such an arrangement, and Mr. Blomefield says that he knows nothing quite like it anywhere else. A curious feature in the church is a panelled apartment on the south side of the nave—the Astley family pew, which was erected in 1681, a year after the building of the Hall, and which, beyond the lowering of the floor and some necessary repairs, is not to be touched by the present restoration. This pew contains many monuments and much heraldry, which no archaeologist would desire to have disturbed. On leaving Melton the party proceeded to the adjoining parish church of Hindolveston, which, like so many of the churches in this part of the county, lies right away from the homes of the villagers. If we except the tiled roof and some red brick patchwork, the building, which consists of nave, chancel, north aisle, and square tower, has a fine exterior. On all sides of the tower, at the base, there is some remarkably fine flint work,—a dedication plate, G and Crown, with terminal crosses. The church is dedicated to St. George. On the south wall of the nave is a curious old brass to "Edmon Hunt, the

gentilman, and Margaret hight his wife," who are represented as surrounded by a numerous family, with dates 1558 and 1568, and on the south side of the chancel are uninteresting piscina and sedilia. The Communion "plate" was set out for inspection in the vestry. The cup is a very good specimen of sixteenth century work, and bears the Norwich mark. It is inscribed "The Towne of Hyldarston, 1568," one of the more reasonable of the extraordinary forms which the name of this village assumed phonetically in the olden times, and which, unless they have very recently become obliterated, still survive among the "natives." The Communion cup and paten belonging to Thornage church having been kindly brought to Hindolveston for the inspection of the party, Mr. Manning gave the following description of them:—"The cup is a very charming specimen of the bell-shaped vessels introduced in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and constantly found in this county and diocese with the dates of 1564 and 1570. Bishop Parkhurst, who was consecrated to the See of Norwich in 1560, was active in the forcing compliance with the injunctions of Archbishop Parker that the old 'massing chalices' should be melted down or remade into 'decent communion cups,' suitable for the administration of the cup to the laity, and holding much more wine than the pre-Reformation chalices, which were only used by the priest. But this cup has upon it an inscription stating that 'This . is . ye . gyfte . of . John . Butts . and Margaret . hys . wyfe . 1456 . whych—died, 1477.' Probably the original chalice and paten given by John and Margaret Butts were melted down in 1563, when I. Stalom was parson of Thornage, and transformed into those before us, while the record and date of their gift, and of the donor's death, were recorded upon the cup, that their generosity might not be forgotten. We may regret the loss of a probably more beautiful shape and earlier design, but it is evident that the best workmanship of the time was enlisted, and a very choice example of Elizabethan plate is presented to us. The inscription itself might have been proof sufficient of the sixteenth century work, and the language and spelling is quite Elizabethan, and Arabic numerals are employed for the dates, which were not in general use for such purposes in 1456 or 1477. The bell-shaped bowl is beautifully chased with a circular band of ornament, in which are the initials I. B. and M. B. and the arms of Butts—viz., Or, a chevron between three estoiles, as many lozenges. I have not been able to discover who John Butts was, as he is not in any printed pedigree of the family. The manor of Thornage does not appear to have belonged to the Butts family until the 1st of July in the year 1536, when King Henry VIII., after an exchange of land with the Bishop of Norwich, granted it, and the advowson of the benefice, to Sir Wm. Butts, M.D., his chief physician. But probably earlier generations of his family lived in the parish or neighbourhood before, of whom no doubt John Butts was one. The paten is a very plain one, without ornament, but it has upon it an inscription which supports the view I have taken of the alteration of the cup: 'The fashen alred by I. Stalom cl : ao 1563.' There are no marks either on the cup or paten; but this date, 1563, raises a rather interesting question. The cycles of twenty years, with the date letters of Norwich-made plate,

began with the letter A in 1564. If this cup, which appears to me to be the work of Peter Peterson, the celebrated Norwich goldsmith, so many of whose cups are dated from 1564 to 1569, is of the year inscribed on the paten, 1563, may not some other undated and unmarked specimens be also previous to the commencement of the Norwich hall-marking—*i.e.*, between 1560, the first year of Bishop Parkhurst, and 1564?" At Melton Park Mr. H. T. Cass conducted them through the house, and readily imparted some amount of interesting and useful information of which he is possessed. Melton Hall, the Norfolk seat of the Astley family, was built in 1680 by Sir Jacob Astley, and it is said "ranks fourth in splendour and importance among the great houses of Norfolk." Externally it is a somewhat plain, square building, in brick and stone, but its internal arrangements and decorations are complete and finished. It contains many fine specimens of portraiture painting, but as the pictures were being cleaned, the visitors had only an opportunity of seeing a few of them. On the grand staircase are pictures representing the combat between Sir John Astley, K.G., and Pierre de Masse, fought in Paris in 1438, and also between the same Sir John Astley and Sir Philip Boyle, Knight of Arragon, fought at Smithfield in 1442. It is said that the last-named painting is the finest representation of Old Smithfield extant. In the library, over the fireplace, is a fine portrait of Sir Jacob Astley, created Baron Astley in 1646, who is taken in his white jerkin. In the entrance-hall are some fine bronzes, including a pair of snakes, formerly in the Tuilleries, and which are stated to be stained with the blood of the great Revolution; a remarkable tazza, which was purchased at the Alton Towers sale; some very fine busts, especially one of Alexander the Great, etc. In the armoury are some noble specimens of the military habiliments of mediæval times.

Erith and Belvedere Natural History and Scientific Society.—September 18th.—A paper on "Howbury," situated at Slade's Green, near Erith, was read by Mr. H. W. Smith:—"In the reign of Edward the Confessor, it appears that Howbury was of some importance, and it was then held by one Anselil. That the Saxon name of Howbury is correctly given is beyond question, standing as it does on a spur of land (a spur of gravel almost similar to that on which Erith Church stands), on the edge of what was the ancient river Thames, ere it was confined between its present banks, or walls, as they are generally called. That the place is still moated we may see for ourselves; and these two circumstances give us the name 'Howbury.' The existing stone walls of the moat would seem to be of Norman construction, and anterior to the period—about the time of Henry III.—of the building of dwelling-houses fortified, and embattled in some instances, and generally surrounded with a moat, but which were not castles in the understood sense of the term. Hasted, in his history of Kent, says that Howbury—or Little Hoo, as it is described in ancient deeds—was part of the possessions of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, the brother of William the Conqueror. Hasted then goes on to give the names of some of the owners and possessors of Howbury. Thus, in the time of Henry III., it was owned by William de Auberville. In the reigns of Edward I., Edward III., to Richard II., it belonged

to the ancient family of the Northwoods, Sir John Northwood holding it in the reign of Edward III. In the reign of Henry IV., Nicholas Carew, of Surrey, and John Cornwallis, of London, were the joint possessors. In the fifth year of Henry V., one Richard Bryan held it; and in the first year of Henry VI. it passed to Roger Apylton, and afterwards to Thomas Covel, or Cowley, as he was afterwards called. In the nineteenth year of Henry VIII. it was conveyed by the grandson of Thomas Cowley to John Judd, whose widow, Elizabeth, was possessed of it in the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign. It then passed by marriage into the family of Fane, or Vane, in whose hands, some time afterwards, the patronage of the living of Crayford became vested. In the second year of James I., Howbury was sold to Robert Draper, Esq.; and in 1694 it was sold by his heirs, together with the Manor of Newbury and May Place, to Sir Clodesley Shovel. The youngest daughter of Sir Clodesley afterwards conveyed Howbury, by marriage, to John Blackwood, Esq., her second husband. Many members of the Apylton and Draper families were buried in Crayford Church, as also were buried the widow of Sir Clodesley Shovel and members of the Blackwood family. Sumptuous memorials to the memory of some of the Drapers and Dame Elizabeth Shovel are erected in the church in the Draper and Howberry Chapels, as they are called. In 1777 Shovel Blackwood, Esq., alienated Howbury, by Act of Parliament, to Harman Berens, Esq., of Kevington, in this county, as also the Iron Mills Farm, in the parish of Crayford. In 1797, when Hasted wrote, it was still in the possession of the Berens family. During the early part of the present century families of the name of 'Butler' and 'Allen' resided at Howbury."

Clifton Antiquarian Club.—September 29th.—The members, with the President, the Hon. and Right Rev. Bishop Clifford, made their second excursion for the year, when Gloucester, Deerhurst, and Tewkesbury were visited. The party first reached Gloucester, and paid a brief visit to the Cathedral, where the chief points of interest were pointed out by Mr. Pope and others. A drive of about eight miles up the Severn valley brought the members to the remains of the Saxon Priory of Deerhurst, and what the late Mr. Parker called "the oldest dated church in England," where they were met by the vicar, the Rev. G. Butterworth, who read a short paper on the early history of the Monastery, which was followed by one on the architectural remains, by Mr. T. S. Pope. Opinions differed as to the date of the existing buildings, Mr. Pope and other members considering the Saxon portions to be of two dates, while the vicar believed the whole had been rebuilt in the time of the Confessor, including the well-known double triangular-headed window in the east wall of the tower, which, whatever its date, was doubtless copied from Roman work. The few remains of the Benedictine Priory were examined, and then the carriages being remounted, a drive of a few miles, past the field of the battle of Tewkesbury (fought A.D. 1471), brought the party to the splendid church of the Benedictine Abbey, which fortunately escaped the fate of Hayles, Evesham, and other grand buildings in the neighbourhood. Under the guidance of the Rev. Hemming

Robeson, vicar of Tewkesbury, the exterior and interior of the church were examined. A curious square chamber at the south-west angle of the south aisle was thought to be the basement of one of the western towers, which, though probably forming part of the original Norman design, were never completed.

Caradoc Field Club.—September 24th.—The members of this club made their last excursion of the season to Berrington and Bettton Pools and to Bomere. Berrington Church was the first object of interest, restored a few years ago. It is dedicated to All Saints, and consists of a tower at the west end, containing six bells, nave, south porch, south aisle and chancel. In the chancel is a cumbent effigy in wood of a man in plate armour, over which is a surcoat gathered at the waist by a belt, and flowing open about the knees, legs crossed, spurs, and feet resting on a lion couchant, on his left side a sword suspended from a plain belt, the hands joined and raised in prayer. There is neither inscription nor arms on this tomb to inform us of the deceased. In the west end of the nave is a very curious font, said to be probably the only remnant of the original Saxon edifice, increasing in diameter from the base, the upper part sculptured with rude marks which much puzzled the company to decipher. One bore some resemblance to an elephant, but no one could say which was its head and which was its tail; this important question remaining undetermined up to the present moment. The last incident in the day's work was a visit to the very remarkable exposure of rock at Sharpstones and Bayston Hill, where Mr. La Touche called attention to the great bed of conglomerate which occurs between the hard schists of the Cambrian, furnishing clear evidence of the existence of a beach on which the pebbles, derived from the pre-existing rocks, were rolled, just as may be observed at the present day on any shore; and he stated that a similar formation may be traced in many places along the western slopes of the Longmynd, and that at the southern end of the range it becomes a stratum of very considerable thickness. The strike of the strata at this point appears to be nearly the same as that of the Longmynd Hills, but the dip to be in a contrary direction, giving the impression that this may be an instance of inversion, the strata being not only upheaved into a vertical position, but, passing that point, the lower have become the upper. A more instructive section than this is not to be found near Shrewsbury. Mr. T. P. Blunt read a paper on "Fairy Rings." On some high, sloping field, where the pasture is poor and pale in colour, irregular rings of a much darker green and more luxuriant growth are observed. If these are watched from time to time it will be seen that they increase in size, the dark green band of rich grass appearing to march outwards, so to speak, from the centre, radially, so that while the actual green belt is not much, if any, broader, the diameter of the entire ring is much enlarged. A closer inspection of the dark green band will disclose here and there, in greater or smaller numbers, fungi belonging to the order *Agaricus*, and generally of one species, the *Champignon Marasmius, Oreades*. The name is very significant. The Oreads were mountain nymphs, or elves, just as the Dryads were oak or tree elves, and it is suggested, not without plausibility, that the name "fairy ring" is due to the appearance

of these fungi, which, under a glancing moon, and with the aid of an excited imagination, might easily be taken for fairies lightly pirouetting on one foot as they trip round in the mystic circle which, from immemorial ages, has been connected with the rites of religion or of superstition.

Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club.—September 23rd.—This club paid a visit to the interesting church of Fairford. The exterior of the church was first inspected by the members of the club under the guidance of their vice-president, the Rev. Prebendary Scarth, who read a paper upon the church and monuments, treating also of the descent of the manor and the history of Tame family, whose monuments are preserved in the church, and also gave a brief history of the windows, and stated what could be ascertained respecting their date and origin. The party then entered the church, and after examining the architectural features, had the windows fully explained to them by the sexton, or curator, of the church. They returned to Cirencester, where some time was spent in the examination of the noble church, with its side chapels and extensive porch or parvise. The party then visited the Museum of Roman Antiquities, which contains the fine pavements found on the site of the ancient Roman Corinium.

Glasgow Architectural Association.—September 23rd.—Mr. William H. McNab read a paper on "The Architectural Treatment of Ironwork." A large number of illustrative photographs and drawings were exhibited. After briefly considering the different methods of manipulation, and the varied purposes in which ironwork has been employed, from the earliest Indian specimens down through mediaeval times to the present day, particular attention was called to characteristic treatment during the Renaissance period, Quentin Matsys being adduced as the representative German and Netherlands artist in iron, and Huntingdon Shaw as the typical Englishman. The wrought-iron screens of the latter's work at Hampton Court and South Kensington were described as unsurpassed in design or workmanship.

British Archaeological Association.—Tenby Meeting.—Tuesday, August 2nd, was devoted to the president's address, etc., and a visit to the chief places of interest in Tenby.—On Wednesday, the 3rd inst., a large party drove to Brownslade. Shortly before their arrival the "long barrow" in the "churchways" field had been opened. This long barrow is a hemispherical dune or hillock of sand, blown together in past ages by the wind, which has lifted it from the now distant seashore to the top of the old redstone rocks upon which it lies. A grave, built with vertical slabs roughly trimmed, and covered with three or four slabs overlapping like modern roofing slates, was uncovered. This was found to contain the skeleton of an adult man, with a jaw of great strength, and a perfect set of teeth. The vertebrae were twisted in a way which showed either that the body had been violently thrust into too small a grave, or that it lay in the attitude which it assumed when a violent or a painful death supervened. No relics were found that would warrant the fixing of any period to this interment. The hill is covered with these rude graves, lying thickly together in three or more layers. A few teeth of cows, some shells

of the limpet and mussel, some white water-worn stones of more or less spherical form, are all the data that the excavation yielded. Castle Martin was the next halting-place, where the church presents many curious features, principally the indications of gable roof and chancel arch of modest dimensions on the east face of the tower wall, perhaps pointing out the size and the situation of the original nave; and the battering tower, with a corbelled battlemented course and no buttresses, a pattern of tower said (like that of Angle, Rhoscrowther, and others within the congress programme) to have derived its form from the square corner tower of Manorbere Castle which overlooks the little bay. Here is an early font carved with twelfth century foliage at the top corners, with an engrafted border running along the sides; here, too, a churchyard cross, disfigured by the cross of modern proportions, which has been, with ingenious economy, constructed out of the original shaft; and some quaintly carved capitals in an adjoining house. Mr. E. Scott led the way to Angle—noted for the fact, dear to Welshmen, that Giraldus Cambrensis was at one time its rector, the fortified rectory house now fallen into evil plight as a coal-shed—and so onward to Newton Burrows, where the fallen cromlech on the hill of sand over the rocky beach was visited, and explained. At Rhoscrowther Church the Rev. G. Scott, rector, showed a wall tomb ornamented with a fourteenth century canopy, over which a strangely grotesque carved corbel has been set, representing a leering, grinning face with the corners of the mouth turned down, from one of which hangs an oak leaf; at the side another grotesque face appears in profile. This has hitherto been called a figure of the Holy Trinity. Parts of the old carved altar of the fourteenth century, some twelfth century tombstones with simple incised cross or floriated ornament, and an early Norman font, make up most of the interesting points of the massive and sombre church. In the wall of the churchyard a rectangular stone with remnants of a Roman inscription is slowly crumbling away and almost illegible; in the churchyard an old stone with two chamfered edges does duty for a monolith or cross. The evening paper was by Mr. A. Cope, "On the Origin of the Phrase 'Little England beyond Wales'." On the 4th inst., the members of the Association, after a brief visit to Lydstep for viewing the ancient houses there, went to Manorbere. After examining the cromlech overlooking the bay and castle from the opposite side and two old edifices near the church, the party proceeded to Hodgeston Church and viewed the decorated chancel, with sedilia of elegant details and a double piscina. A long drive brought the party to Lamphey, where the ruined palace, long the residence of the ancient bishops of St. David's, was examined with great attention. This is a very good example of domestic architecture, built by Bishop Gower, "the rich bishop," in the thirteenth century. Some small arches of elaborate detail, running along the south wall, were pointed out, and a detached chapel, raised on a small cloister, said to be the work of Bishop Vaughan, attracted notice. Those who alighted at Penally were well repaid their examination of the "small cross," 6ft. 6in. high, ornamented on both sides with interlaced ribbon patterns. The eastern side has its ornamentation

more elaborate than that on the western side, indicating thereby, we are told, that the cross should face, as it does, towards the western end of the church. The church of Penally is disappointing to the archaeologist, who finds here an example of a misguided restoration. The evening was devoted to two papers. The first, by Sir James Picton, dealt with the place-names of Pembrokeshire, in which the writer had grouped together a large number of names having similar syllables in their composition. Mr. Laws's paper on "Local Ethnology" was full of interest. Mr. Laws said that his hearers would probably, in the course of their wanderings, come across small-boned, long-headed, dark-haired men and women, who were supposed to be descendants of the old non-Aryan race. Some years ago it was a custom in this county, after a couple were married, at church or chapel, for the whole wedding party to mount on horseback, and then, having given the bride and bridegroom a fair start, race after them. In case the lady was caught, the captor claimed a kiss from her, and her husband was bound to provide beer for the party by way of ransom. There could be no doubt that this ceremony was a reminiscence of "marriage by capture," as old as Silurian days. The character of the Gaedhils, or Goidels, who made short work of the little, dark-skinned Silures, strongly predominated in the Pembrokeshire blood. They were the dominant race for a very long period. Their bronze weapons and implements were not uncommonly found in cliff castles and other places, and the finds showed that the two so-called periods of bronze and stone overlapped and the races commingled. On Friday the party, led by Mr. G. R. Wright, drove to view the "Stack Rocks," the "Huntsman's Leap," the "Caldron," and the so-called "Danish Camp," on the edge of the precipitous cliff. They then proceeded to St. Govan's rock-hid chapel and wishing-well. Bosherston Church was the next point. Here the churchyard cross, with part of the chamfered shaft gone, and having a rudely-sculptured head of the Saviour at the crossing of the limbs; the low-set lepers' window in the south wall of the chancel; the effigies of a lady in the north transept and of a civilian in the south transept; and the font, sadly injured by the same restoring mania which has also meddled with the old windows and the entrance doorway, were the principal details to be looked at. At length Stackpole Court was reached, and some of the party made their way to Stackpole Warren, where abundant traces of an extensive prehistoric village, with the well-known, but scarcely well-understood, circular and partly circular outlines of walling, testify to an occupation by a people who have left behind them bones of the primogene ox, arrow-heads and other flint implements, a few of which were picked up on this occasion, limpet shells, hand-made pottery, and other traces of their manners and customs. Cheriton Church gave an opportunity of halting for a few minutes to glance at the many effigies of the Stackpole family in the south chapel, and the sepulchral stone inscribed, in early capital letters, CAM...LORIS—FILI . FANNVC—. The form of the letters may perhaps be referred to the seventh or eighth century. The papers in the evening were "The Planting of the Plantagenets," by Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., and "The Flemings and

their Chimneys in Pembrokeshire," by the Rev. Osborn Allen. On Saturday, after passing the ruined mansion of Scotsborough without stopping, the party halted first at Gurneyston Church. The church possesses, on the north side, one of the usual battering towers. There is a low pointed chancel arch. Here Mr. C. Lynam read a paper dealing with the dates and details of the architecture. On the hillside, below the church, there is one of the holy wells which are not infrequent in Wales. St. Florence Church has another tower of the usual type on the south side, some singular rough arches of masonry on the south side of the chancel, and many peculiarities of plan and construction. The date of the church is Early English, but the font is Norman. Some curious old customs connected with the parish were given in a paper prepared by Miss Bevan, from which it appears that within the last fifty years on Easter Day the villagers used to repair to a well called the "Pin-well," and throw a crooked pin into the water. This was called "throwing Lent away." The field in which this well is situated is called "Verwel," perhaps from *verwelen*, Flem., to vault; and it therefore seems probable that it was once covered by one of the barrel-vaulted roofs so common in Pembrokeshire. On Lammas Sunday little houses, called "Lammas houses," were set up on "corse." They were made of sods, reeds, and sticks, and a fire was lighted inside them, and apples roasted, people paying a penny to go in and have a roasted apple. At the bottom of the street, near the brook, is a large upstanding stone, with a small round hole in the top, and there is a saying that until you have put your finger in this hole you cannot say you have been in St. Florence. It is supposed that the place called "Carn" in this parish is identical with the "Trefin Carn" of Liber Landensis. The next object of examination was Carew Cross, with ancient interlaced patterns of ornamentation, just outside the castle wall, commented on by Mr. Brock and Mr. Laws. The evening meeting was devoted to Mr. Brock's paper dealing with "Historical Evidences of the Extent of the Ancient British Church." On Monday, the 8th inst., Pembroke town was visited. In the evening Mr. Birch read a paper "On the Tenby Charters." In this attention was directed to the antiquity of the system under which the supreme power of a country granted privileges and special rights to a local community. Tuesday, the first extra day, was mapped out for an excursion to Narberth Castle, Llanbaden, and Picton Castle, which Mr. C. E. Philpotts, whose seat is there, had kindly undertaken to describe. The party passed the night at Haverfordwest, the starting-point of Archbishop Baldwin and Geraldus Cambrensis, in the old days, towards the city of St. David's, and the starting-point on Wednesday, the 10th inst., of the congress party. The programme for the day included Roch Castle, the ruins of Bishop Gower's Palace, and the Cathedral of St. David's. The last day, Thursday, included a visit, under the guidance of Mr. Edward Laws, to St. David's Head, to inspect the cromlechs, stone circles, avenues, and early fortifications existing there, returning to St. David's by the ruins of St. Justinian's Chapel on the seashore, and the quadrangular camp nearer to the city.

Leeds Geological Association.—Sept. 13.—

The fourth excursion of the season took place under the leadership of Mr. B. Holgate, F.G.S. The object was to visit the Silurian erratic blocks at Norber. Just behind Norber towers Ingleborough, and to the west Moughton, separated only by Ribblesdale from Penyghent and Fountains Fell; the beautiful valley of Crummackdale, with its white farm-houses dotted here and there at our feet, and on the left the immense white mountain limestone scars of Norber, with, in front, its notable examples of erratic blocks. These blocks are the relics of the Great Ice Age, when North-West Yorkshire was enveloped in the huge ice-sheet coming from the Highlands and from Scandinavia. The party saw the parent ridge from which these rocks had been torn, some great masses broken away and ready for transportation, just like the others before them, but arrested in their progress by the retreat of the glacier. Many of these blocks, some 40 or 50 tons in weight, are strangely perched on pedestals of limestone, some two feet in height, a few pedestals appearing so frail that one could imagine a push would dislodge the rock from its rest; this shows clearly the amount of denudation since the blocks were thus deposited, as at that time they would be stranded on the surface. Since then, by the agencies of rain, wind, and frost, the limestone has been denuded, and the portion only sheltered by the superincumbent block remains. The fact that these blocks are found sometimes at a higher elevation than the parent rock has been accounted for by the molecular theory of Croll, by which it is proved that the ice at the bottom of a valley cannot expand laterally without passing up the sloping sides, and the ice must expand thus laterally to make room for the additions to it caused by the melting and resolidifying of the molecules, from the upper surface of the ice sheet being in contact with the sun and air. Mr. J. E. Bedford, from his experience of terminal moraines in Norway, was able to point out one which crossed the valley from where they stood. This had been cut in two in the centre, either by the waters of the Crummack Beck or, more probably, by man to drain a lake which formerly existed here, of which evidence has recently been shown by the discovery of a lacustrine deposit, proved to be of the postglacial period. That this was a terminal moraine, or, in other words, *dbris* shot over the edge of the glacier, thus marking its limit, is further borne out by the fact that the stream of Silurian blocks referred to was arrested nearly at this spot, no blocks being found (except very isolated ones) to the south. The party also had an opportunity of seeing *in situ* the conglomerate at the base of the mountain limestone, separating it from the Silurian rock below. Time was too limited to inspect closely this most interesting section, but it was observed that the conglomerate was in some places brecciated, having sub-angular blocks and pebbles embedded; a large oblong one, about two feet long, also sub-angular, was particularly noticed, sticking out from the vertical surface; they appear to be embedded in a calcareous matrix, and the pebbles derived from the subjacent Silurian rock. This calcareous matrix arises from infiltration from the limestone above, thus converting the mass of pebbles into a compact rock. The appearance of these blocks, so similar in form to the *dbris* of the

Great Ice Age, certainly bears out the theory of Ramsay of a glacial period in the Devonian epoch, prior to the carboniferous era ; thus the party now assembled were probably looking upon the relics of a moraine shed from a glacier of the old Red Sandstone Age.

[We are compelled to postpone our reports of Berwickshire Naturalists' Field Club, Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, Russian Archaeological Congress, Bradford Historical Society, Hull Literary Club.]



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Lammas-riding at Coventry.—“So long as the Lammas lands continued subject to the pasture right, it was the invariable custom of the chamberlain, pinners, and a number of freemen, all mounted on horseback, to traverse the lands on the 13th August every year, all gates and obstructions to free access to them having been removed on the preceding day, otherwise they were removed without ceremony by the Lammas-riding party. The pinners wore white jockey jackets and pink cockades, and the whole cavalcade, sometimes including a rather sorry quality of horseflesh, presented a gay and animated assemblage, accompanied as they were by a band of music, with the ringing of the church bells . . . The last Lammas-riding took place on 13th August, 1858.”—Poole’s *History of Coventry* (1870), p. 357. [Communicated by J. H. Round.]*

Henry V. as a Borrower of Books.—In 1424 a petition was addressed by the Countess of Westmoreland to the Duke of Gloucester, Protector of the Realm, and the Lords of the Council, praying them to issue a mandate to Robert Rolleston, Clerk of the King’s Wardrobe, ordering him to deliver up to the Countess a *Book*, containing the “*Chronicles of Jerusalem*,” and the “*Voyage of Godfrey of Bologne*,” which was then in his custody, and which she had previously lent to the late King Henry V. From a memorandum on the back of the petition, it appears, that at a Council held at Westminster on the 1st of February in the same year, a warrant under the privy seal was addressed to the keeper of the wardrobe, for the formal delivery of the book in question. A similar application was also made by the prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, for a large book, containing the “*Works of St. Gregory the Pope*,” which had been bequeathed to the convent by Archbishop Thomas Arundel, and which, having been intrusted to the late king for his inspection, had got into the hands of the prior of the Carthusians at Shene. In consequence of this petition, the Lords of the Council granted a warrant commanding the prior of Shene to deliver up the book as prayed.—Brayley and Britton’s *Houses of Parliament*, p. 311.

Charles II.’s Amusements.—In some contemporary letters in the possession of the Duke of

* Compare ANTIQUARY, vi. 44, vii. 34.

Sutherland (see *Hist. Ms. Com.*, vol. v.) we read : “1660-1, Jan. 26, London. The King is in very good health and goes to Hampton Court often and back again the same day, but very private ; most of his exercise is the tennis court in the morning when he doth not ride abroad ; and when he doth ride abroad he is on horseback by break of day and most commonly back again before noon.” Again : “1660-1, March 9. His Majesty’s chiefest recreation is to go twice or thrice a week to Hampton Court to overlook his workmen there ; and most part of the rest of his time is to overlook his workmen in St. James’s Park, where they are making stately walks and placing of trees for shade.” But in summer time a change is made. “1660, June 16. The King and the Duke of York come every evening as far as Battersea, Putney, and Barn Elms, to swim and bathe themselves, and take a great delight in it and swim excellent well.”

Macaulay’s New Zealander Forestalled.—When the project for removing the seat of the Venetian Government to Constantinople was made in 1222, immediately in consequence of the severe shock of earthquake which had visited the island the year before, Angelo Faliero, the principal opponent of the scheme, is reported to have concluded his address to the Great Council with the following rhetorical peroration : “Some Venetian traveller, perhaps, touching a few years hence at these parts, will find the canals choked with sand, the dykes levelled, the lagoons infected with malaria. He will find that our dwellings have been demolished, that their precious remains have been transported elsewhere, and that the monuments of our triumphs have been dispersed among strangers. He will observe a few pilgrims wandering over the ruins of monasteries known to have been in former days wealthy and magnificent. He will behold a scanty population—without labour, without food ; and the magistrate of some remote town will be in the very palace where we are now deliberating, dictating laws to what would still be called Venice. And history will tell how the Venetians, hearkening to the promptings of a restless ambition, renounced the signal blessings of Providence, and, emigrating from their native soil to a distant land, destroyed one of the noblest and greatest fabrics of human industry.” Here we get the New Zealander and the Australian domination foreshadowed side by side. The contemporary character of these addresses for or against the scheme has been challenged, but they are in several of the most trustworthy histories, where Macaulay may well have seen this passage.—[Communicated by W. CAREW HAZLITT.]

Early Book Advertisement, 1699.—An advertisement at the back of the title page of *A Walk to Islington*, by the author of *The Poet’s Ramble after Riches*, London, 1699, fol., gives the following titles of books, which are worth preserving. The transcript is made word for word :—“Books sold by J. How, in the Ram-Head-Inn-Yard in Fanchurch-street ; J. Wald, at the Crown between the Temple Gates in Fleet Street ; and M. Fabian at Mercers-Chappel in Cheapside. 1. Sot’s Paradise ; or the Humours of a Derby-Ale-House : with a satyr upon the Ale. Price six-pence. 2. A trip to Jamaica : with a true character of the people and Island. Price six pence. 3. Eclesia et Factio : A Dialogue between

Bow-Steeple-Dragon and the *Exchange Grasshopper*. Price six pence. 4. The Poets ramble after Riches : with reflections upon a country corporation. Also the author's Lamentation in the time of Adversity. Price six pence. 5. The London Spy, the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth parts. To be continued monthly. Price six pence each. 6. A trip to *New-England*, with a character of the country and People, both English and Indians. Price six pence. 7. Modern Religion and Ancient Loyalty : A dialogue. Price six pence. 8. The world bewitch'd : a dialogue between two astrologers and the author : with infallible predictions of what will happen in this present year 1699. From the *Vices and Villanies* practis'd in *Court, City, and Country*. Price six pence. 9. O Raree-Show, O Pretty-Show ; or the city feast. Price one penny. All written by the same author."



Antiquarian News.

A very fine coin of Trajan has recently been unearthed in close vicinity to the noted St. Helen's Chapel, Colchester, said to have been built by Helena, daughter of Coel, who usurped authority about A.D. 238. On the obverse it reads :—

IMP. CAES. * NERVAE * TRAIANO * AVG * DAC * P.M. TR. P. COS. III. P.R. with a laureated head of Trajan to right. In the exergue, on the reverse :—

ARAB * ADQ * (Arabia Adquisita)

standing for the victory the Romans then gained over the people of that now unhappy country. As the coin is but little worn, and the Emperor Trajan reigned A.D. 98, it may be regarded as some proof that Colchester at that early date was a place of some importance. The coin probably was brought over about that period. It is in the possession of Mr. C. Golding, of Colchester.

The *Progrès de l'Aisne* gives the following particulars with regard to some discoveries which have just been made by M. Moreau, a well-known antiquary, at Chouy, a village of 600 inhabitants, which is situated upon an eminence overlooking the valley of the Ourcq, not far from St. Quentin. The etymology of this village, the only one of the name in France, is not known; but in a decree of Charles the Bald, dated 872, it is spoken of as Choa, while in the twelfth century it was known as Choi or Choy. The village, though situated upon a height, is well provided with water, and M. Moreau has discovered traces of ancient Roman baths, though the small number of arms found induces the belief that it was never a military post during the Roman occupation. The cemetery was used as a place of interment from a period preceding the conquest of Gaul by Caesar until the eighth century without interruption, and M. Moreau discovered sixty Gallic graves upon the heights above the village, the bodies having been buried at a depth of fifteen inches from the surface and in the direction of west to east. He also discovered 200 Gallo-Roman graves lower down, at a depth of five feet, and with the head of the coffins to the south. Forty Merovingian graves

were also discovered, facing the east, at a depth of forty inches. Among other interesting discoveries was a natural tombstone in one of the Gallo-Roman graves. This stone, which weighs 150 lbs., has a cavity in the centre large enough to admit a man's head, and it was surrounded by several fragments of black, red, and white pottery. Among other articles were a Gallic boot sole, studded with nails, twenty-seven buckles, clasps and plates in bronze and iron, thirty-eight bracelets, rings, and other articles of adornment, mostly in bronze, though a few are silver-gilt, six bronze pieces of money of the time of Licinius, Constantine II., Valens, and Valentinian I., two bronze dishes, eighty-nine earthen dishes, and fourteen in glass, nine iron swords, fifteen hatchets, daggers, and javelins, 108 flints of all shapes, thousands of coffin nails, and a signet ring with nine facets, upon which are engraved the greeting *vivas*, the dove and the olive branch, the palm, the lamb, the stag, and the hare, which were the symbols in use among the early Christians.

The commission appointed to inquire into the claims of Mr. J. Fraser, of Mount Pleasant, Carnarvon, for the recovery of the Lovat title and estates, is sitting daily at Amlwch on behalf of the Scotch Court of Session. The case which Mr. Fraser seeks to substantiate is of the most romantic character. Mr. Fraser claims to be the lawful heir male of Alexander Fraser, the eldest son of Thomas R. Beaufort, who died 1698, being survived by two sons, the younger being the notorious Lord Simon, who figured so prominently in the rebellion of 1745, and who was executed for treason on April 9th, 1747. Alexander, in early life, brought himself within the pale of the law, escaped into Wales, where he remained in concealment until his death, and Simon, taking advantage of his brother's enforced absence, obtained possession of his father's estates by fraudulently representing to the Crown that he was the eldest son. After Lord Simon's execution the estates were seized by the Crown, with whom they remained till 1774, when, on account of his distinguished military services, they were restored to his son, General Simon, by Act of Parliament. General Simon's heirs continued to possess the estates down to 1815, when, the then possessor dying without male heirs, the estates were claimed by and given to the father of the present possessor. It is alleged that the branch of the family from which the present possessor claims descent is several degrees more remote to the family of the original possessors than the branch from which the claimant is descended. The adventures of Alexander in Wales were very extraordinary. It appeared that he fled from Scotland for stabbing a fiddler, and took refuge with Lord Powys at Powys Castle. In order to conceal himself he worked underground at the lead mines of Lord Powys at Llangynhos. Lord Powys had been a fellow-student with the refugee, and a particular friend of the Lovat family. After keeping in concealment for some time, and travelling from one mine to another in Wales, he married at the age of sixty-three, and had issue, of which the claimant is stated to be a lineal descendant. The present possessor of the estate, however, maintains that Alexander died without issue during his father's lifetime. On this the claimant contends that Alexander was actually married at Llanddulas,

on March 2nd, 1738, to Elizabeth Edwards, of that parish, and had issue John, Simon, William, and Alexander, and that he (the claimant) is directly descended from John.

The old custom of swan-upping was observed at Stratford-on-Avon in September last, and was attended by the Mayor (Mr. A. Hodgson) and a distinguished party of visitors from Clopton House. A fleet of about forty boats, including a few canoes, well manned and provided with ropes and crooks, put off from the Clopton Bridge about half-past three o'clock in quest of the young birds. After an amusing chase up the river of from two to three miles, the cygnets were captured one by one, and subjected to the marking process, which consists of punching a hole in the web of the foot, whilst to prevent the birds flying any considerable distance it was thought advisable to cut the pinions.

The trustees of the British Museum have acquired an interesting volume containing a number of sketches by Sir James Thornhill. Some of the designs will be used for the decoration of the cupola of St. Paul's Cathedral, where, by order of Queen Anne, the artist painted in eight panels the history of the patron saint of the cathedral.

Drogheda correspondent sends an account of an interesting discovery made at the foot of the famed hills of Tara, county Meath. Some workmen were excavating for gravel, when one of them struck a stone which, to his astonishment, fell inwards, followed by some others, and thus was disclosed a perfectly well-formed habitation of the prehistoric period. The "house" was found to be a fairly round compartment of some 10 feet in diameter.

The little parish church of Lee Brockhurst, near Wem, has been reopened after restoration and improvement. The structure is a very ancient one, and bears interesting traces of Norman work. A chancel has been added by the family of the late vicar, the Rev. William Boulton, in memory of him and of Margaret his wife. A new roof to the nave and a bell turret have been erected.

The ancient parish church of St. Ishmael, near Monkhaven, Pembrokeshire, has been reopened after internal restoration by the Bishop of St. David's. Four windows hitherto walled up have been reopened, the western gallery has been renewed, and the space under the tower screened off for use as a vestry.

At the last meeting of the Cambrian Archaeological Society, Col. Evans Lloyd produced a stone which is said to open at the death of any member of the family to which he belongs.

Bishopstowe, the residence of the late Bishop Colenso in Natal, has been completely destroyed by an overwhelming grass fire, fanned by a high wind. Of the Bishop's library only a few manuscripts were saved.

The parish church of Chipping Campden has been reopened after being closed for about four months for the restoration of the interior. The church, which is in the Perpendicular style, contains some good brasses, and the Hickes memorials, occupying a chapel on the south side of the chancel, are fine examples of monumental sculpture.

Recently some miners who were excavating a new mining shaft in the Greetwell Fields came upon the remains of a Roman villa. From the nature of the diggings, so much unavoidable damage has been done to the remains that all that is at present to be seen are some walls, a well seven feet in diameter, and portions of tessellated pavements, broken tiles, and pottery.

An important step has recently been taken by the Corporation of Hull. The number of historic documents in the possession of that body, which is very large and of great antiquarian interest, is to be set in order and calendared by Mr. T. Tindall Wildridge.

The restoration of the noble west front of Lichfield Cathedral is fast progressing, and several of the still vacant niches will shortly be filled with the statues intended to replace the old series. The arcade of kings, which forms such a striking feature in the front, will be soon completed, those of Penda, Wulfere, Ethelred, Offa, Egbert, Ethelwolf, Alfred the Great, Edgar, Canute, Edward the Confessor, Richard II., etc., being *in situ*, while those of King David, William I. and II., Henry I., II., and III., and Edward I. will shortly leave the studio of Mr. Bridgeman in Lichfield. A brief *resumé* of the other great groups of the west front will not be uninteresting. In the upper stage of the south-west tower are Methuselah, Noah, Shem, Daniel, and Job, with a small figure of St. Anthony over the belfry window on the south side. On the west front of this tower are Isaiah, Zephaniah, Jonah, Hosea, Ezekiel, Haggai, Micah, and Joel. The upper stage of the north-west tower is devoted to Scriptural women—viz., Eve, Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, Deborah, and Hannah; the first stage of the west front to St. Clement and St. Werburgh; and the central gate to the archangels Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, and Uriel. The figures on the moulding of the central doorway are Joseph, Judah, Shem, Noah, Enoch, Seth, and Adam on one side, the Virgin and Child, David, Jesse, Jacob, Isaac, and Abraham on the other. Occupying a similar position in the doorway of the south-west tower are Wilfred, Cuthbert, St. Augustine, Gregory, Paulinus, Theodosius, Aidan, etc. The figures of the bishops of the diocese include those of Bishops Hacket, Clinton, Lonsdale, Patteshull, Langton, and Selwyn. St. Chad, the patron saint, occupies his old place in the centre of the whole.

A sale of books relating principally to the county of Gloucester, the property of the late Mr. J. D. T. Niblett, F.S.A., of Haresfield Court, Gloucestershire, was held at Gloucester on the 18th ult. by Messrs. Bruton, Knowles, and Co., of that city. Among the principal lots sold were: Sir Robert Atkyns's *History of Gloucestershire*, first edition, 1712, £30; second edition, 1768, £15; R. Bigland's *Collections relative to the County of Gloucester*, with the additions privately printed by the late Sir T. Phillips and his executors, 1791-1883, £26; and Lyson's *Gloucestershire Antiquities*, first edition, 1791-1803, £10 10s.

The collection of lacustrine antiquities at Zurich has been largely increased during recent dredgings for the new quay. The objects found include arms, bronze ornaments, pottery, and the prow of a primitive boat, formed of a hollow trunk.

At the Vicarage, Mexborough, which is the site of the old mansion formerly known as the "Old Hall," some workmen while excavating in the garden found an ancient ivory fruit knife, about four and a half inches long, the handle having at the end a very richly carved monk's head enveloped in a hood. There are two initials upon the handle, "W.S.," and this seems to point to the ownership of the knife, inasmuch as in the year 1690 there resided at Mexborough Hall a William Saville. Upon a more careful search being made close to the knife, the men discovered an old seal, 'chased with gold, but this is slightly cracked. Still the impressions taken off show very distinctly the head of a cavalier with locks of hair. The reverse shows the figure of a woman leaning her arm upon an anchor. It being inscribed in the parish church at Mexborough, that two Samuel Savilles were of the body guard of King Charles I., and the seal bearing a likeness of a Stuart, leaves little doubt that this seal is a relic of the ancient house of the Lords of Mexborough.

The fine old tower of the Church of St. Lawrence, Ludlow, has for some time past shown many signs of a very gradual decay, and a thorough examination proves that it is getting unsafe. It has been proposed to cease ringing the bells, but as that will only leave the decay in its present state for some length of time, the Vestry discussed the matter, and concluded that it would be wiser to restore the tower by refacing, or some other more expedient mode. A proper scheme for thorough restoration is therefore decided upon.

The Curfew bells commenced at Castle Cary on Michaelmas-day. The old custom is regularly honoured there.

Mr. Laurence Hutton, the American writer, is in London putting the finishing touches to his book on the homes and haunts of famous men in "the City-on-Thames."

Among the houses about to be demolished in Paris to make room for the enlargement of the Sorbonne is one which fills a considerable place in the history of French literature—the Hôtel Jean Jacques Rousseau. It was so called from the fact that Rousseau stayed at it (then the Hôtel de St. Quentin) when he came to Paris in 1741. Georges Sand wrote her first novel in the same house, and Jules Sandeau met her there. Gustave Planché, too, wrote his first critical essay in the hotel.

St. Peter's Church, the oldest ecclesiastical fabric in Derby, is in a very dangerous and dilapidated condition. The roof of the north aisle is falling in, and planks have had to be arranged to support the principals, and so prevent it from total collapse.

There will soon be a Rossetti colony at Chelsea. The house in which the poet-painter lived is now occupied by the Rev. R. H. Haweis. A street of Queen Anne houses has been built on a part of the garden at the back, and these, it appears, are to be let only to persons associated with literature and art. One of these new houses has been let to the widow of Anthony Trollope, and another to Mr. John Clayton.

An interesting circumstance arose out of the Church Congress in Carlisle. Lord Nelson's presence in Carlisle prompted the Chancellor to present to his lordship the walking cane which belonged to and was used by his illustrious predecessor, the victor of Tra-

falgar, up to the time of his death. The cane, which is of black bamboo, with ivory handle, had been in the Chancellor's possession nearly forty years. Lord Nelson was very much gratified by the gift.

Through the munificence of the Emperor, the Berlin Royal Library has just been enriched by an extensive collection of ancient Arabic literature, comprising 1,600 works in 1,052 volumes. The oldest of these manuscripts date from 1058 A.D., perhaps earlier, and is called the *Kitab Elfelahi*, or book of agriculture, by the celebrated Ilen Wahshijie.

The old *Sedan Chair*, Bridewell Lane, Bath, after remaining void for a long period, was some time since purchased by the Governors of the Mineral Water Hospital for the purpose of building recreation-rooms on the site for the use of the patients. The old inn has been gradually demolished by the workmen, and now the foundations are being dug out for the new building. Last week those employed came upon a portion of a fine tessellated Roman pavement. The pavement proceeds in a line to the west, and goes under the thoroughfare of Bridewell Lane.

Mr. William Kelly is just finishing off his *Royal Progresses and Visits to Leicester*, which promises to be a very entertaining book. It will contain many illustrations.

The old church of St. Michael's, Thursley, was reopened after a thorough restoration. The additions to the church itself are a small transept and an extension of about ten feet at the west end of the nave, forming a new entrance with a handsome oak porch. There the font—a large Early Norman one—has been placed. The roof, formerly ceiled over, was found to be so decayed, that it was necessary to replace it with a new one, open to the ridge, and thus showing all the very fine old timbers upon which the spire rests. The old east window has been replaced by a three-light Early English one, corresponding with the others. During the work of restoration several interesting details of the original church were discovered. It was evidently a Norman building of about the middle of the eleventh century. The roof of the chancel has been raised at some distant period, the two Norman windows on the north side stopped, and the two on the south side transformed into Early English. The chancel arch has also been raised and similarly altered. There were two Norman windows on the south side of the nave, where is now the transept arch, and below the old entrance—now a single lancet window—the remains of an old staircase in the thickness of the walls were discovered, probably leading to a gallery at the west end. The walls themselves, at the east and west ends, were decorated with rude frescoes, too much defaced to enable the precise subjects to be made out, though that at the west end appeared to be a representation of the contest of St. Michael with the dragon. The other parts of the wall were lined out to represent stonework, in dark red lines, each division being ornamented with a trefoil in the same colour.

The workmen engaged in making the sewer connections to Mr. Clavey's house at St. Michael's, St Albans, came upon a pit containing a very large quantity of human remains. Strange to say, they consist almost entirely of skull and limb bones, only one rib being found, the skulls being certainly more

than a hundred in number, and the whole find amounting to quite a cartload. The fact that skulls, leg and arm bones alone were found would lead to the supposition that some wholesale process of decapitation and dismemberment had been carried on in some bygone days. The remains were interred but four feet from the surface and about two from the roadside, and in very close proximity to the foundation of the wall which, in the Roman period, surrounded Verulam. The pit containing the remains, which are clearly those of both old and very young persons, is about four feet in diameter. Some twenty years ago, when St. Michael's new schools were built, a similar quantity of human bones were found. It is recorded that in the year 1745, at the time of Charles Edward's rebellion,—to which period the bones apparently date,—a number of executions took place in immediate proximity to the spot where the remains are now found, but this would in no way account for the large number found, as only about ten executions took place here.

A discovery of interest has just been made at Wooler, in taking down some dykes for the purposes of the new railway now forming there. It is a large fragment of a small Saxon cross. Mr. R. Wilson sent a drawing of it to Canon Greenwell, at Durham, who wrote as follows:—"I know of no piece of Saxon sculpture having been found at Wooler, or in any neighbouring place nearer than Norham. The cross is certainly pre-Norman, and, considering the nearness of the residence of the Northumbrian kings at Millfield, and earlier at Jevering, one might expect to have had many sepulchral stones of that time left to us. Doubtless many are still in existence, built up in walls or covered by the soil." The relic in question is in the care of Mrs. Short, at Wooler Mill.

The office of herald, vacant by the resignation of Mr. Wilson, the Islay herald, has been conferred by the Lyon King of Arms upon Mr. John Grant, Carrick Pursuivant, who is to bear the title of Marchmont Herald.



Correspondence.

WICK.

Is the meaning of this word definitely ascertained? It is stated in the *Times* (27th August, 1884), in an article on "local names," that it "seems to have signified the earliest Saxon habitations, when they had less the sentiment of residence than of camping-places; when the colonists eschewed the city, and pitched where fancy led them." As a contribution to its history it may be worth noting that there are several "wicks" near Colchester, of which Norden says in his *Survey of Essex* (1594):—"in Tendring hundred ther are manie wickes or dayries. But in that hundred are also manie barren grounds." Now, there are three "wicks" on the south of Colchester, lying in a line, Monkwick, Middlewick, and Battlewick, of which the first is said by Morant to have been "a farm which the abbot and monks of St. John's

kept in their own hands, to supply the occasions of their house. (Wic signifies, among other things, a farm-house. It is sometimes corruptly written Monk-weeds)." Again, in the 24th Ed. I. (1295-6), Battlewick occurs almost as a common name—"ad Wykam Dni, Ricard Bataille." But it should be noted that at Tillingham, in Essex, further south, the St. Paul's Inquisition of 1222 records a similar group of three "wicks" thus:—"In marisco sunt iii bercarie, quarum una vocatur howich . . . altera vocatur middlewick . . . tercia vocatur doddeswick . . . quarta vocatur pirimers."* They are here distinctly entered as sheep-walks (*The Domesday of St. Paul's*, pp. lxxix, 59). There is another group of them on the low land to the north of the mouth of the Colne.

J. H. ROUND.

LATIN INSCRIPTION.

Can any reader of THE ANTIQUARY assist me with a translation of the following "dog-latin" lines, which form part of an inscription on a tablet in Caverswall church, co. Stafford, to the memory of a father and son, who bequeathed legacies to the poor of that parish for ever? The remainder of the inscription is given in English, and does not throw any light upon the Latin lines.

RES PATER ET NATO NATUS PATRI. ET EGENIS
ATQ. DEO GENITOR NATUS. BENIGNE DEDERVNT
DIGNA LEGI SCRIBI DIGNA HÆC DIGNISSIMA DIC
HÆC POSUI LIB. VICAR . DE . CARS [Caverswall]
G. BLACKER MORGAN.

Vincent Villa, Addiscombe, Croydon.

[The following translation is suggested by the printer's father:—Father (? God) and Son (? Christ) [gave] wealth to the son and father. And father and son gave liberally to the poor and to God. This is worthy to be read, worthy to be written, and most worthy to be related. I placed it [here] by the permission of the vicar of Cars.—Ed.]

CLIFTON ANTIQUARIAN CLUB.

[*Ante*, pp. 33, 86.]

Absence from home has prevented my replying earlier to Mr. Adlam's letter, printed at p. 86, referring to the account, in your July number, of the recent visit of the members of the club to Chew Magna Church. As to the first subject mentioned in the letter, I may say that the great majority of those present in the church thought the modern colouring of the Hautville monument a mistake, and did not express approval of the "restoration" as implied by your previous correspondent (p. 34), whose statement, that "there were no indications of mediæval colouring to follow," hardly agrees with Collinson's account of this curious wooden effigy, written about a century since, in which "a red loose coat without sleeves," a "leather girdle fastened by a gilt buckle, and gilt spurs," are mentioned.

As to the authority for the statement that the effigy of Sir J. St. Loe in the same church was originally cross-legged, both Collinson (vol. ii., p. 89) and

* In 1426 the manor "icalled Priesmaner" (*Earliest English Wills*, p. 70).

Rutter (p. 204) state the fact most clearly. The first-named author gives a minute description of the monument as it appeared in his time (c. 1791), and states: "He lies cross-legged, to denote his having been at Jerusalem." Several cross-legged effigies of a much later date than that of Sir John (middle fifteenth century) are known. In the *Archaeological Journal*, vol. xxxii., p. 241, Mr. M. H. Bloxham, who is, I suppose, our best living authority on such subjects, writes: "In the latter part of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries we have a few cross-legged effigies," and he describes some in Exeter Cathedral, and the churches of Brading, Isle of Wight, Great Mitton, and elsewhere. When we were at Chew Magna I mentioned Collinson's statement, that in his time the legs of Sir John's effigy were crossed, and, on carefully examining the monument, I came to the conclusion, as did Bishop Clifford and others, that the alteration had been made by the modern "restorers." The whole monument has been badly scraped over, so that none of the old surface of the sculpture remains.

It would certainly have been "gratifying to know that the supposed handsome hammered iron screen," which formerly surrounded the Baber tomb, was, as Mr. Adlam describes it, "a simple iron railing, without beauty or interest," but on writing to my friend Mr. Thos. S. Pope, whose inquiry elicited the fact that it had been sold for old iron, he replies: "I enclose a tracing of a sketch I made in April, 1854, of the iron railing, which, though perhaps not quite Gothic in date, is evidently so in feeling, and should in my humble opinion have been preserved." After seeing Mr. Pope's sketch (which has been published), I can hardly agree with Mr. Adlam that the screen had "neither beauty nor interest."

ALFRED E. HUDD,
Clifton, Sept. 6th, 1884. Hon. Sec. C.A.C.

NATHANIEL HONE.

[*Ante*, ix. 244, x. 183.]

I observed with some interest the article in the June number of THE ANTIQUARY on the Diary of Nathaniel Hone, and I observe a letter in the October number from Mr. Nathaniel J. Hone, in reference to a genealogy in his possession of the same Nathaniel Hone; the writer also asks if any of your readers could throw light on Hone's family history.

There are now no male descendants of this Nathaniel Hone, I and the several persons bearing that surname in Ireland are descendants of his brothers. His son, John Camillus Hone, the original of the Spartan and Piping Boy, died in 1836. He is remembered well by several of the family. His widow, who was his first cousin, and daughter of Nathaniel Hone's brother, survived him several years, and died aged upwards of 100 years. Horace Nathaniel Hone's other son died long previous to J. Camillus. He left a daughter, Mary Sophia Matilda Hone, who died unmarried. John Camillus Hone left no children. The other sons of Nathaniel Hone died young.

I do not know if there are descendants existing of Nathaniel Hone's daughters, Mrs. Lydia Medcalf and Mrs. Amelia Rigg. I remember meeting two Misses Rigg, very old ladies, at my grand-aunt's Mrs. J.

Camillus Hone's house; they are, however, long since dead.

I shall be happy to afford Mr. Nathaniel J. Hone any further information in my power, and I would much like to see, or have, a copy of the genealogy to which he refers.

RICHARD HONE.

CURIOS MARRIAGE BILL.

[*Ante*, pp. 27, 87.]

The Mr. Mallett who sought to legalize marriage with fifteen wives in 1675 perhaps had in view the same idea of reform as advocated by M. Madan in 1780, in his book entitled *Thelyphthora, or a Treatise on Female Ruin*, which sought to prove that polygamy was better than our present marriage system.

G. B. LEATHOM.

OLD PLAYING CARDS.

[*Ante*, p. 37.]

As agent of the United States National Museum at Washington, I have been making a collection of playing cards for that museum. I read in the ANTIQUARY of July, 1884, that Mr. Clulow has delivered a lecture on this most interesting subject, and that hopes are entertained of your publishing this lecture. Very strange is it that there are to be found, in the United States, playing cards of the seventeenth century, which, brought over from the old country, have been preserved. I should be glad to hear from Mr. Clulow.

BARNET PHILLIPS.

Brooklyn, New York, 41, Troy Avenue,
July 23rd, 1884.

DURHAM HOUSE.

(ix. 262, x. 11.)

As I have stated in the article on "The Adelphi and its Site," that on September 19th, 1651, Colonel Berkstead was ordered "to find some fit place for the quartering of his soldiers besides Durham House, the Council not being desirous to hold the house longer than the Earl of Pembroke has given his consent to," and have also given a view of the house dated 1660, it is only right that I should quote a passage which has just come under my notice. Mr. Furnivall has printed a MS. from the late Sir Thomas Phillipps's Library entitled "Notes on London Churches and Buildings, and on Public Events in England, A.D. 1631-58," which will be published in the second volume of Harrison's *England* (New Shakspere Society). The passage is as follows:—"The stately pallas called the Bishop of Durram's House in the Strand began to be demolished and pulled downe to the ground in the year 1650, to build tenements in the place of it." I cannot understand this discrepancy, and I hope some further particulars respecting the pulling down of the house may be brought to light. The process of demolition was probably stopped for some cause or other, as it is evident the house was in existence, at all events, in 1651. I am indebted to Mr. Furnivall's kindness for a sight of the proof of these interesting "Notes."

HENRY B. WHEATLEY.

The Antiquary Exchange.

Enclose 4d. for the First 12 Words, and 1d. for each Additional Three Words. All replies to a number should be enclosed in a blank envelope, with a loose Stamp, and sent to the Manager.

NOTE.—All Advertisements to reach the office by the 15th of the month, and to be addressed—The Manager, EXCHANGE DEPARTMENT, THE ANTIQUARY OFFICE, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.

FOR SALE.

Rogers' Italy and Poems, 2 vols., 4to, full morocco, by Hayday, belonged to the family of Rogers, has an autograph letter of Turner pasted in, plates on India paper, £12; a Horn Book, price £5; Turner's Views in England and Wales 1838, 2 vols., 4to, full tree calf, was bought in original parts at Turner's sale (price £20, in London catalogue), price £12 12s.; Humphrey's Clock, 3 vols., first edition, original emblematic cloth, £2 10s.; Walton and Cotton's Angler, 2 vols., imperial 8vo, Pickering, 1836, half morocco, by Hayday, £10; Hamerton's Etching and Etchers, 1868, rough uncut edges, very rare, £12, 1876 edition, uncut, £2 10s., 1880 edition, uncut, £5 5s.; Arabian Nights, 1839-41, 3 vols., Knight's edition, half bound, £3 3s.; Dickens' Five Christmas Books, first editions, red original cloth, rare and fine set, £6; Ruskin's Seven Lamps, fine copy, 1849, £6; Ruskin's Modern Painters, five vols., 1857-60, full calf, £20; Modern Painters, 1873, five vols., fine copy, original cloth, £20; Ingoldsby Legends, 3 vols., early edition, with author's visiting card and autograph letter inserted, £5, very interesting copy; Marryatt's Pottery and Porcelain, full morocco, fine copy, 1850, £1 12s.—266, care of Manager.

Gray's Elegy, illustrated by Harry Fenn. Large paper edition. Only 50 copies printed. Offers requested.—119, care of Manager.

Berry's Pedigrees (with Arms illustrated) of the County Families of Hertford, lithographed (only 153 copies published); choice copy, uncut, half red calf (1844); scarce, £3 15s.—Address, 267, care of Manager.

North's Bells of Bedfordshire, 12s.; Stahlschmidt's Surrey Bells, 15s.; North's Accounts of St. Mark's, Leicester, 12s. 6d. The three for 35s.—G. H. Pike, Winchmore Hill, N.

Hogarth's Works, royal sheet edition, half morocco, gilt edges, £10 10s.; also Gilray's Works complete, two vols. and index, half morocco, gilt edges, £12 10s., or offer. Beautiful copy.—Farncombe and Co., Lewes, Sussex.

A few old Poesy Rings for sale.—Apply to 265, care of Manager.

An old Oak Bedstead, carved. Also carved Oak Chest. Sketches.—O. B., Carrolgate, Retford.

Encyclopædia Metropolitana, 29 vols. complete, half bound, neat; Bell's Weekly Messenger, 17 vols. complete, 1805-1821; Annual Register, 21 vols. complete, 1760-1780; Yorke's Political Review, 9 vols. complete, 1806-1814; Romanae Anthologia, an Exposition of Roman Antiquities, Oxford, 1631; Moses

and Aaron: Civil and Ecclesiastical Rites, London, 1634; The Countermine, London, 1777; Les Liaisons Dangereuses, ou Lettres, London, 1797; The Chief Concerns of Man: Sermons by Rev. E. Bickersteth, London, 1831; Greenwood's Sailing and Fighting Instructions, or Signals of the Royal Navy of Great Britain, very rare, 1710; The Whole Duty of Man Laid Down, London, 1661; The Gentleman's Calling, London, 1662; Malthus on Population, 2 vols., 1826; Dictionarium Rusticum, Urbanicum, and Botanicum, London, 1726; A Review of the History of England: King James to Queen Anne, 1724.—R. Williams, Brynmalaw, Carnarvon.

Recollections of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, by T. Hall Caine, large paper edition, price 21s. Paul and Virginia, with eight etchings in duplicate (50 copies only printed), bound in parchment, 25s. Sharpe's British Theatre, eighteen vols., 32mo calf, covers of one vol. damaged; London, printed by John Whittingham, Dean Street, for John Sharpe, opposite York House, Piccadilly, 1804-5; with very fine engraved title-page to each volume, and portrait of W. H. W. Betty as *Douglas*; book-plate of Francis Hartwell in each volume, 20s. Caxton's Game and Playe of the Chesse, 1474; a verbatim reprint of the first edition, with an introduction by William E. A. Axon, M.R.S.L., forming part of the first issue of "The Antiquary's Library," 7s. 6d. Shakspere as an Angler, by Rev. H. N. Ellacombe, M.A., vicar of Bitton, 1883, parchment, 10s. 6d.; very rare. Advice from a Mother to her Son and Daughter, written originally in French by the Marchioness de Lambert; done into English by a gentleman, MDCCXXIX, 18mo, calf, 1s. 6d. The Juvenile Forget-me-Not, edited by Mrs. Clara Hall; illustrated by fine engravings in steel, 2s 6d. Œuvres de Monsieur de Boissy, contenant, Soir, Théâtre François et Italien, Nouvelle édition, eight volumes old calf, with book plate of Princess Sophia. A. Amsterdam, etc., Berlin Chez Jean Neaulme, Librairie, MDCCCLXVIII, 10s. The Bab Ballads, original edition, in paper boards, 2s. 6d.—191, care of Manager.

The Manager wishes to draw attention to the fact that he cannot undertake to forward POST CARDS, or letters, unless a stamp be sent to cover postage of same to advertiser.

WANTED TO PURCHASE.

Book Plates purchased either in large or small quantities from collectors. No dealers need apply.—200, care of Manager.

Dorsetshire Seventeenth Century Tokens. Also Topographical Works, Cuttings or Scraps connected with the county.—J. S. Udal, The Manor House, Symondsbury, Bridport.

Wanted, for cash. Works of Pardoe, Freer, Shelley, Keats, Swinburne, Browning, Lecky, Froude, Ruskin, Doran, Lamb, George Eliot, Thackeray, Titmarsh, Swift, Tyndall, Lewes, Lewis, Jowett, Dollinger, Jameson, Trench.—Kindly report, Rev., 20, King Edward Street, Lambeth Road, London.

Gentleman's Magazine, between 1846 and 1868, either in volumes or in parts, any portion taken.—J. Briggs, 122, High Street, Sevenoaks (letters only).